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CALDERWOOD'S HISTORY

OF

THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

VOLUME EIGHTH.

THE WODROW SOCIETY,

INSTITUTED MAY, 1841.

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS AND EARLY WRITERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

BY

MR DAVID CALDERWOOD,

SOME TIME MINISTER OF CRAILING.

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PREFACE.

The concluding volume of Calderwood's History is at length submitted to the Members of the Wodrow Society. The Council have been blamed for the delay that has occurred, and a few words of explanation seem to be called for, in order to shew that such delay on their part was wholly unavoidable. Until the text was nearly completed at press, it was confidently expected that a General Index to the work would be furnished by the Editor, and that some progress had actually been made in its preparation. As this expectation proved to be erroneous, and as his literary engagements prevented him from putting a finishing hand to the work, it became requisite that another person, who was supposed to be properly qualified for the task, should be employed. After however nearly two years labour, it unfortunately proved, that his state of health rendered it doubtful if he ever could complete the Index on the same comprehensive scale on which he had proceeded; and his papers were scarcely in a state to be of much service. The Council therefore were under the necessity of obtaining fresh aid to fulfil their engagement in this matter.

When the General Index had been completed,—under the superintendence of the Rev. W. K. Tweedie, one of the members of Council, with the addition of a Life of Calderwood, prepared by the Rev. Thomas Thomson,—the Council were apprehensive that the Members of the Society might have had some just cause of complaint, had they received, after so much delay, a volume of less than one-third of the bulk of the previous volumes.

The attention of the Council had repeatedly been directed to the expediency of collating the other copies of the History, and it seemed that such Collations would best serve the purpose of enlarging this additional volume. As the member of Council who had chiefly urged this on their notice as a necessary portion of the History, the task was devolved upon me in April last; and notwithstanding some assistance obtained from Mr Rowand of the New College Library, in collating the folio volume of 1678, and of a volume of transcripts gleaned by the Rev. Thomas Thomson from the enlarged manuscript of Calderwood's History in the British Museum, it has proved a much more tedious and irksome labour than I could have anticipated.

The nature of Calderwood's earlier publications, during his exile, and his continued seclusion from the ordinary duties of the ministry, may have led him to undertake a comprehensive HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. Any previous works of the kind were either limited in extent, or occupied chiefly with personal details, and as these remained unpublished, they were liable to be suppressed or destroyed.

This last consideration was apparently the reason that induced Calderwood to prepare his History in the Three different states in which it still exists, to afford additional security for its preservation, at a period when, to all appearance, the whole platform of Presbyterian Church government, in Scotland, was threatened to be overturned. In the Appendix I have already described the successive changes in the History, made by the Author, but it may be proper, in this place, briefly to notice the probable dates of the several Manuscripts.

The Manuscript of the larger History, in three volumes, concludes, on page 1609, with the year 1586, but Calderwood himself refers to it as extending to 3136 pages; and, judging from the handwriting, these volumes were probably the first compiled.

The second Manuscript, in three volumes, contains, on 2013 pages, the complete History until the death of King James, in 1625. It is written in the same hand with the other volumes, and must have been completed in the year 1627. This we know from a variety of incidental allusions in the book itself. Thus, under the year 1603,* in noticing the subsequent fate of Dame Margaret Whytelaw, he says, she was "buried in the Abbey Kirk *fourteen days since, that is, in Aprile* 1627." The mention made of Bishop Abernethie's constant residence at Jedburgh,† where he was minister, for several years after being raised to the See of Caithness; of the Synod "holden this year 1627;"‡ and of Thomas Hogg's

* Vol. vi. p. 205. † Vol. vii. p. 283. ‡ Ib. p. 296.

subscription at Dysart, in regard to the proceedings of the High Commission against him in 1620,* may likewise be pointed out as distinctly referring to the year 1627. Again, in 1624, when describing the return of Robert Bruce, minister of Edinburgh, from his long confinement in the North of Scotland, he says, "But this winter being driven over, and the King dying in March (1625), he (Bruce) was not urged to returne backe (to Inverness); *and so continueth teaching, where he can have occasion, to this houre.*" At page 124 of the present volume, it will be seen that, in revising and condensing his History, Calderwood, in place of the phrase, "*to this houre,*" has substituted, "*continued still teaching where he might have occasion, till August* 1631, *that it pleased the Lord to call upon him: At which time he departed in peace of bodie, and peace of minde, the 77. year of his age,*" &c.

It was therefore in or soon after the year 1631,† that Calderwood was engaged in preparing his History in its Third or more condensed form; and by excluding a variety of matters connected with civil affairs, copies of letters and proclamations, and by condensing the narrative,—but occasionally introducing short reflections—it was comprised in a single volume, containing in bulk nearly one-half of the former History. In this form he intended the work should be made public, reserving, as he says, the two larger Manuscripts, either as vouchers for his statements, or to supply its loss in case of accident. As the volume is still preserved, had circumstances permitted access to it, the precise date of the Ma-

* Vol. vii. p. 377.

† See this vol., p. 40.

nuscript might have been ascertained. But it is of greater importance to be able to shew that it was the work of Calderwood himself,* and not a mere abridgement by a partial or unqualified Editor.

It will be seen from the Introductory notices, that the first portion of the following APPENDIX consists of passages introduced by Calderwood in his Third, or more condensed form of the History, which was published in Holland, in the year 1678, by the zeal of some of the Presbyterian clergy, during the times of persecution under Charles the Second. This is followed by a selection of similar passages contained in the existing volumes of the Author's larger Manuscript, and which were either omitted or altered in the three volumes of the intermediate text of the History adopted for publication by the Wodrow Society.

Not having had any recent opportunity of inspecting the Manuscript volumes of Calderwood's History deposited in the British Museum, I am indebted to the friendly aid of Sir Frederick Madden, Keeper of the MSS., for the accompanying extract of a note prefixed to the first and fourth volumes; and for answering some queries which fully corroborate the opinion expressed above, and also at page 119, of Calderwood having actually completed his History in the year 1627. The volumes were presented to the Museum on the 29th January 1765; and are marked, Addit. MSS. Nos. 4734 to

* See page 5 of the present Appendix.

4739. On the first leaf of every volume is the autograph note :—"Ex Libris Dom. Gulielmi Calderwood de Poltoun."

"Hi Libri Manuscripti sex voluminibus comprehensi, jure successionis devoluti sunt ad Auctoris a Fratre Nepotem, Dominum Gulielmum Calderwood a Poltoun Equitem.

"Ex dono Heredis has Reliquias Authenticas Historiarum, ne omnino perirent, in Musæo Regio deponi voluit,* nullibi cum possint melius conservari neu bono publico inservire, cui totam vitam suam dedicavit Author.

"The Author's surname is ancient and local, as ancient as sirnames were in use, and is to be found in Ragman's Roll, when Scotland did homage to Edward the First. Those of that name were at that time possest of the lordship and manor of Calderwood, and the towns and villages of Great and Little Calderwood, upon the river Calder, that runs into the Clyde at Bothwell Castle. The family estate went off long ago, and they dispersed, some into the south parts of Scotland, and many to Ireland. The author's two nephews, Calderwood of Poltoun and Calderwood of Whitburgh, were possest of good fortunes.

"From this Original Manuscript, two copies were taken, in a modern hand, one in the Library of the College of Glasgow, and the other in the Library of the Church of Scotland. Mr Wodrow, author of the History of the Church of Scotland, had the perusal and use of this Manuscript, together with many Original papers, letters and vouchers, which were never

* "Thos. Calderwood, Esq. of Titchfield Street, by the hand and at the request of A. G." [Dr Andrew Gifford, Librarian Br. Mus.]

restored; and from his Heirs that copy now at Edinburgh, with the other manuscripts, were purchased by the Church of Scotland."

The state of the funds of the WODROW SOCIETY has compelled me to avoid all unnecessary expense by enlarging the present Volume to the full extent I could have wished. I hope, however, that this APPENDIX, as it furnishes a great variety of detached passages, of more or less importance, which are not contained in the Wodrow volumes, will at least obviate any charge of a requisite portion of the work having been overlooked. Except for the reason just stated, I should have added some further particulars regarding the Author, with a detailed bibliographical account of his writings.* I intended also to have given some account of several volumes, which contain original Letters and Papers collected by Calderwood as materials for his History.† These papers, as stated in the above note, had been communicated to Wodrow by

* A very complete and accurate list of Calderwood's publications, with an account of his Life, will be found in the last edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, and is included in the subsequent publication by Dr Irving of "Lives of Scotish Writers," vol. i. p. 318, Edin. 1839, 2 vols. post 8vo. To this list, however, we might add, "Parasynagma Perthense," &c., printed along with Andreæ Melvini Musæ, Anno M.DC.XX. 4to. Also Calderwood's edition of "The First and Second Booke of Discipline." Printed Anno 1621, 4to.—(See Knox's History, vol. ii. p. 183.) In Dr Irving's list, Nos. 5 and 9 were probably published by Calderwood; but the author of No. 5, the "Dialogue betwixt Cosmophilus and Theophilus," 1620, was John Murray, minister of Leith and Dunfermline, (Row's History, Wodrow edit. p. 255); and of No. 9, "The Course of Conformitie," 1622, was William Scot, Minister of Cupar. (Scot's Apologetical Narration, Wodrow edit. p. vi.)

† Some of the earlier portions of Calderwood's History, in his own hand, are preserved among these Collections. (Wodr. MSS., Fol. Vol. xliv. and xlv.)

the Author's grand-nephew, Sir William Calderwood of Polton. They remained in Wodrow's possession at the time of his death in 1734, and were purchased from his representatives, with the greater part of his Collection of MSS., by the Faculty of Advocates, in 1792.

Nearly a century ago, in 1754, Proposals were issued at Edinburgh for the publication of Calderwood's larger History, in three volumes folio. The originator of this scheme does not appear, but a copy of the prospectus is given at page 301.

I have here added, along with a copy of Calderwood's Testament, and two Elegies on his death, a Genealogical Table and some notices of the Calderwoods in Dalkeith, from whom the Historian was undoubtedly descended. The various "kists full of books," "lying here and there," or in the custody of the parties mentioned in his Will, cannot but excite regret that the library of this very learned Divine and most industrious and faithful Historian should have been dispersed.

DAVID LAING.

February 1849.

APPENDIX.

Mr David Calderwood, xvj *of Decr*. 1651.

THE TESTAMENT TESTAMENTAR, AND INVENTAR of the goodes, geir, sowmes of money, and debts perteining to vmquhill MR DAVID CALDERWOOD, Minister of Pencaithland, the tyme of his deceis, quha deceist in the moneth of, &c., the zeir of God 1650 zeirs; ffaithfullie maid and givine vp be himself upon the xxiij day of October, the zeir of God forsaid, in swa far as concernes the nominatione of his Executour, Legacies, haill Inventar of his goods, geir, debts auchtand to him, and be him; and givine vp be Alexander Calderwood, Baillie in Dalkeith, quhome he nominat his onlie executour in his Latter will underwrittin, as the samyne of the daitt foirsaid, subscrivit with his hand, in presence of the witnesses eftermentionat, mair fullie proports.

IN the first, the said vmquhill MR DAVID CALDERWOOD had the goods, geir, sowmes of money, and debts of the availls, and pryces efter following, perteining to him the tyme of his deceis foirsaid, viz.: Imprimis, ane kow worth xvj lib.: Item, in the hands, custodie, and keeping of Margaret Meikilwrath, in Edinburgh, twa kist full of books: Item, mair lying heir and thair, disperst in severall kists, diverse and syndrie bookes: Item, in the custodie and keeping of Catherine Lausone, relict of vmquhill Mr James Primross, vther twa kist full of books: Item, in the custodie and

keeping of the relict of vmquhill Mr Johne Callinder, wryter, vther twa kist full of books: Item, in the custodie of Anna Hay, spous to Androw Hamiltone, quhilk was transportit be hir to the Castle of Edinburgh, ane uther kistfull of books: Item, in the custodie of Lawrence Henrysone, lait baillie of Edinburgh, ane vther kist full of books: Item, in the custodie of Marione Saidler in Dalketh, twa kists full of books: Item, in the custodie of &c., colzear in Ormestoune, twa kists full of books: Item, mair sax books in the custodie of Dorathie Couper, in Eister Pencaithland: quhilks haill Books abone written ar estimat, in cumulo to the sowme of Jm marks: Item, the vtenceills and domiceills belonging to the Defunct, estimat to ijc. marks: Item, of reddie money in the Castle of Edinburgh perteining to him Jm lib.

Summa of the Inventar Jm viijc. xvj lib.

Followes the Debts awine to the Deid:

Item, thair wes auchtand to the said umquhill Mr David Calderwood, be the Heritours of the parochine of Pencaithland, for the Defunct's stipend for serving the cure thair, the crope and zeir of God 1649 zeirs, four chalders of victuall, Lowthiane mett, quheit and beir, at xx marks the boll, summa viijc. liij lib. vjs. viijd. and that conforme to ane decreit granted to him for his augmentatione: Item, mair be thame for the crope and zeir of God 1650, the sowme of viijc marks money, with four chalders victuall of the measour and qualitie foirsaid, pryce of ilk boll thairof, xx marks, summa viijc. liij lib. vjs. viijd.: Item, mair adebtit to him be the saids Heritours the sowme of vc. marks, depursit be him to Mr John Oyswald, laitt Minister thair, for the defunctis manse: Item to the said Mr John Oiswald, lviij lib., conforme to his tikit.

Summa of the Debts awine to the Deid, ijm. vjc. xxxj lib. vjs. 8d.
Summa of the Invintor with the debts, iiijm. iiijc. xlvij lib. vjs. 8d.
Followes the debts awine be the Deid:—

Item, thair wes auchtand be the said vmquhill Mr David Cal-

DERWOOD to Agnes Calderwood, spous to Mr Oliver Calderwood, preacher in England, the sowme of vc. marks, conforme to the clause obligatorie contenet in the contract of marriadge conceavit in favors of the said Agnes: Item, to Robert Browne, buiksellar in Edinburgh, x lib. or thairby, for the pryce of certane books: Item, to James Saidler, servand, of fie, x lib.: Item, to Jonnet Stoddert, servand, of fie, vj lib.

Summa of the Debtis awine be the Deid, Iijc. lix lib. vjs. viijd.

Restis of frie geir the debts deducet, Iiijm. lxxxviij lib.

No divisione.

Followes the Deidis Legacie and Latter-will:—

The Testament Testamentar, and Inventor of the goodes, geir, sowmes of money, insicht plenisching, debts, and vthers quhatsumevir, perteining to MR DAVID CALDERWOOD, Minister at Pencaithland, faithfullie maid and givine vp be himself, he being for the tyme lying within the brugh of Jedbrugh, seik in bodie bot whole and perfyte in memorie, upon the twentie third day of October 1650 zeirs, befor thir witnesses, Androw Dunkansoune, minister at Lasudan; Mr Williame Jamiesone, minister at Jedbrughe; Mr Mark Dunkansoune, minister at Gallascheills; with Thomas Cranstoune, notar publict at Jedbrughe: Imprimis, syndrie and diverse books, &c., Summa of the Inventar [&c.] Debts auchtand to him: Imprimis, adebtit to him for his stipend be the Heritors, &c. Summa of the Inventar with the debts, &c. Debts awine be him: Imprimis, to Agnes Calderwood, spous to Mr Olipher Calderwood, preacher in Ingland, the sowme of vc marks, conforme to the clause obligatorie contenet in the contract of marriage, conceavit in favors of the said Agnes; mair to Rot. Browne, booksellar in Edinburgh, the sum of x lib. or thairby, as for the pryce of certane books; mair to Jaines Saidler for his fie, x lib.; mair to Jonnet Stoddert for her half zeirs fie, &c.; Summa of the frie geir, the debts being deducit, &c.

His Legacie: The said Mr DAVID CALDERWOOD leivs and nominats Alexander Calderwood, baillie in Dalkeith, his Nephew,

his onlie executor, legator, and intromitter with the haill goods, geir, sowmes of money, and uthers quhatsumever abone written; he paying the legacies and docing the dewties to the persounes efter mentionat, and ordanes the said Alexander to distribute and divyde equallie betwixt Mr James, Thomas, David, and Isobell Calderwoods, his nephewes and nyce, the haill Books in his kists, and in his studie abone exprest, with the foirsaid sowme of viij$^{c.}$ marks, and aught chalders of victuall equallie amonges thame, the debts abonewrittin being payit in the foirend thairof; and ordanes the said Alexander his Executor to collect and gather togidder his said books, and to place them in the studie amonges the rest, and mak penny thairof: lykas the said Mr David declairs that he has now presentlie within the Castle of Edinburgh the sowme of xix$^{c.}$ marks, with ane coffer, and wryts, and work, and ernestlie recommends to his said Executor, that the samyne money, wryts, coffer, and work, be delyvered to Mr Androw Ker, Clark to the Generall Assemblie: mair the said Mr David Calderwood leivs and nominats to the said Issobell Calderwood, the haill plenisching of his house in Pencaithland, with ane kow, the books being exceptit: and finallie, leivs in legacie to the said James Saidler and Jonnet Stoddart his servands, aither of thame ten pundes Scottes money, by and attour thair fies. In witnes quhairof, I have subscrivit thir presents with my hand, day, zeir, and place foirsaid, before the forsaid witnesses.

(*Sic Subscribitur*) Mr David Calderwood, Minister.

Thomas Cranstoune, notar, witnes. Mr Williame Jamesone, witnes. A. Duncansone, witnes. Mr Mark Dunkansone, witnes.

Mrs Jon Nisbitt, &c., ratifeis and approves, &c., and gives and commits, &c., resservand compt., &c., James Calderwood, merchand, burges of Edr., become cautione as ane Act beirs.

Edinburgh, xiiij. day of January 1653.

Eik maid heirto as followes, viz., Be the Heretors of the parochine of Pancaithland 400 marks for ane half-zeirs stipend, viz.,

fra Mertimes 1651 to Witsonday 1652, mair be them for the said terme, twa chalders quheit and beir, at xii lib. the boll ourheid extending, in the haill, to the sowme of vic. l lib. and gives and committs, &c., resservand compt., &c. James Gemmell, in Southsyde, cautione, as ane Act beirs.

Edinburgh, the xviij. of May 1654 zeirs.

Eik maid heirto as followes, viz., Thair was justlie adebtit and auchtand to the said Defunct, be the heritors, titulars, taksmen, tennents and others, the intromittours with the teynds of the lands of Wintounc, and speciallie be the Erle of Wintoune, and his tutours, curators, or ane or vther of them, the sowme of Ic xx lib. and gives and committs, &c., resservand compt., &c. John Stratoune, merchand, burges of Edinburgh, cautione as ane Act beirs.*

* [The transcript of this Will was obligingly communicated to the Editor, some years ago, by the Rev. Hew Scott, A.M., Minister of Anstruther Wester.—At the same time he has the pleasure of acknowledging Mr Scott's kindness in answering some queries while the present sheet was in the printer's hands.]

FUNERAL ELEGIES ON CALDERWOOD.

(1.) Vpon the death of Mr David Calderwood, Minister at Pencaitland, who died the 29. of October 1650 zeiris.

The Wood is fallin, the Church not built,
Nor Reformatione endit;
The Cedar great is now cutt doun,
Who first that Work intendit.

By toung and pen he did not fear
T' oppose proud Prelacie;
His Scripturall arguments did prevail
Against their Hierarchie.

Both Sectaries and Schismaticks,
He did convince with reasoun;
His Lyff and Papers will record
He did abhorr there treasoun.

Sing hymnes of joy, sweit soul, in peace,
Vnto thy great Redeemer;
Vntill this persecuted clay
Be joyn'd with thee for ever.

p. S. T.

(2.) On the setteing of that famous and long shyneing light of our Church, the Reverend Mr David Calderwode. Orit Jedb[urgh], Oct. 29, hor. 2, an. M.DC.L.

Stand, Passenger, amaz'd! attentione lende;
Observe with wonder what this may portende:
Two Heavenli lanterns, mortalls guyding light, — The Moone eclypsed about the tym of his death.
Both thus ecclypsed in the sam sad night.
The on[e], Night's ruler, plac't by Power divine,
The other, that which to our Church did shyne.
I hartlie wish, her tossed vessell may
Not now be spleated; this I'l ever pray,
For 'ts' dang'rous saileing without moone or sterr,
In such a course peylats may blindlie erre:
Best peylats may; sure once our Prelats did
When most men's lights wes under bushells hidde.
Thes ferceli rusheing, both ther Church and self,
Lyk to mak shipwrake on the Roman shelf;
Till this great light, which doth obombrat ly,
Shew forth the way, and dangers did descry;
So did her safelie to the harbrie guyde,
Wher long mott shoe in puritie abyde.
Bot hear 's the hazard, if, as 'ts' lyk, our Kirke
Shall yet be tossed, as the fleeting arke
In this sad night of danger. O! to see
Of what sad events thes prognosticks bee!
Great lights ecclyps'd, such load-starrs thus gone doune,
Doe presage darkness; darkness errours froune.
Bright World's Light! raise lights to guyd our way,
Till on this night doe daw th' eternall day.

p. M. H. K.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE AND NOTICES OF THE FAMILY OF CALDERWOOD.

The following Table was prepared in order to show more distinctly the Historian's connection with the Calderwoods of Polton, now merged in the family of Calderwood-Durham of Largo. It is formed chiefly from an examination of the Registers of Confirmed Testaments in the Commissariot of Edinburgh. I had little prospect of being able to point out his own descent; but upon examining a mass of old papers from Largo, (the use of which had been granted to the late Secretary of the Wodrow Society, in the most liberal manner, by the last representative of Lord Polton,) I found two old decreets, which may be considered as throwing some light on the subject.

From the subjoined notices it will be seen, that a James Calderwood, in Dalkeith, died in October 1567; and that the son of his deceased brother was named William. On the 21st of January 1596-7, a supplication was presented to the Bailie of the regality of Dalkeith, "be Williame Calderwode eldar, and Williame Calderwode younger, acclamand the heritable richt to the landis and gavill underwrittin, makand mention, that quhair thay haif all and haill ane cottenement of land, with the pertinentis lyand on the north syd of the town of Dalkeith," &c., "and thay can on na wyis big, beit, mend and repair, the said waist parte of the said land and tenement, without the doun-taking and re-edifeing of the said auld ruinous west gavill thairof," &c. The right to this part of the property being referred "to the tryell and knawledge of the inqueist underwrittin, lawfully chosin, sworne and admittit thairupone," &c., the said Assize "fand and decernit the said gavill to appertene to the saidis Williame Calderwoode, eldar and younger; sua that they mycht tak doun and re-edifie the

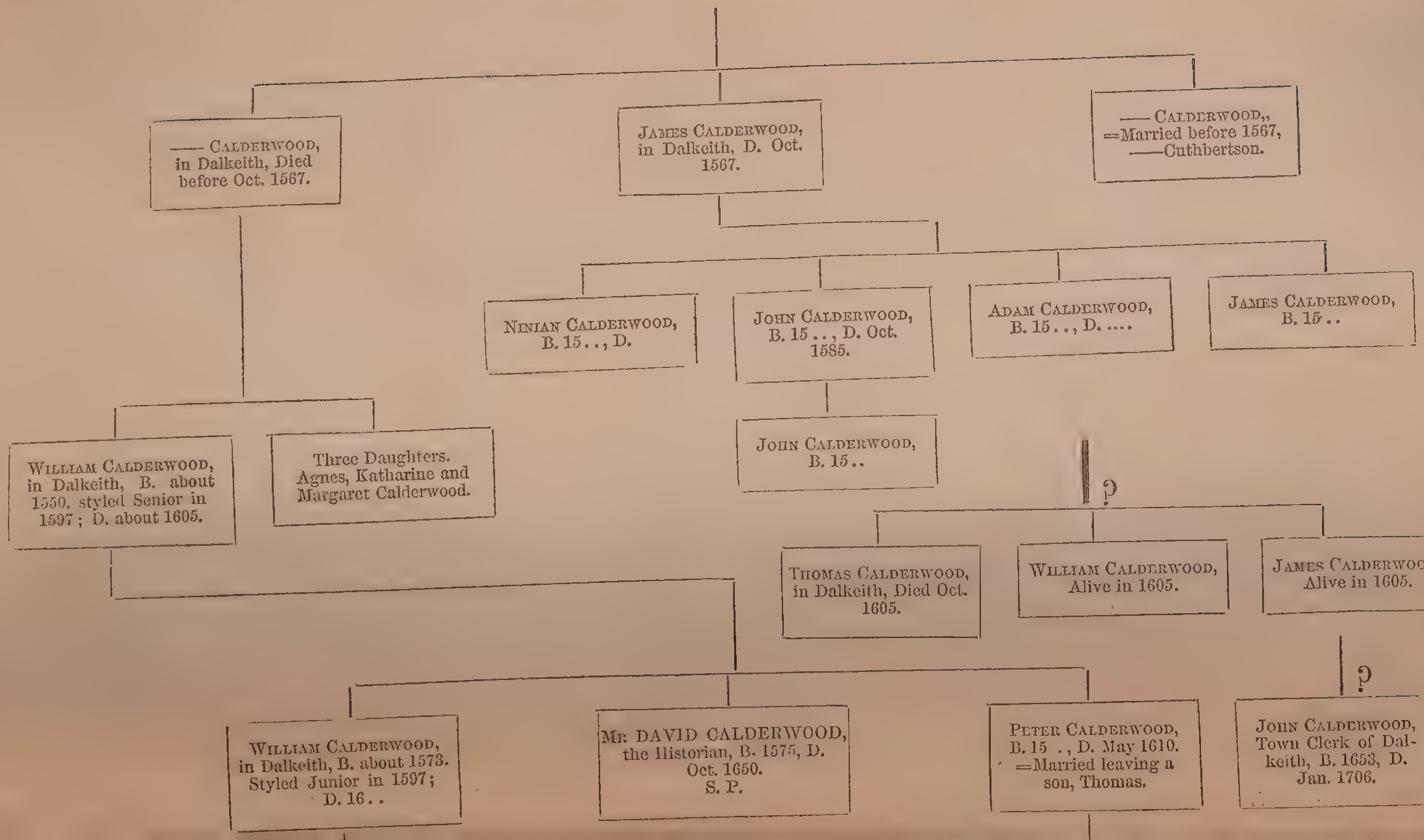
samin as thay thocht expedient." This William Calderwood senior, is, no doubt, the same whose name appears in his uncle's Testament in 1567; and as the Historian's brother was named William, we may presume that in this decreet we discover the name of his father and elder brother, as heritable proprietors of the said tenement and land.

This conclusion might not have appeared altogether satisfactory unless for the preservation of another paper, from which we learn that a similar question had arisen in 1653 regarding this *auld ruinous gavill*, and it contains a reference to the former decreit in January 1596-7. We know that the Historian's eldest nephew was Alexander Calderwood, bailie in Dalkeith. The paper referred to contains a summons raised on the 21st June 1653, at the instance of "Alexander Calderwood, sometyme one of the baillies of the burgh of Dalkeith, shewing, that quhair the said persewar is deulie and heritablie infeft and seisit in all and haill that tenement of land, with the yarde and pertinentis thairof, lyand in the said burgh of Dalkeith, on the northe syde of the great streit thairof," &c., "lykeas the said tenement and wester gavell thairof does only pertaine and belang to the said persewar," &c. It is unnecessary to refer further to this document, which is only interesting as it serves to prove that this tenement in the High Street of Dalkeith, (in which the Historian, no doubt, was born, in the year 1575,) had been inherited successively by his father, elder brother, and nephew, from before 1596 till after 1653.

A numerous branch of the Calderwoods flourished at the same time in Musselburgh, but they do not seem to have had any *immediate* connection with those of Dalkeith. A careful examination of the existing parochial and borough registers of Dalkeith, may enable some future inquirer to supply further details, and to connect the various links in the pedigree.

Of the Calderwoods of Polton a full account is given by James Dennistoun, Esq., in the Appendix to his very curious and interesting volume, named "The Papers," printed for the Maitland Club, 1842, 4to.

CALDERWOOD.


—— Calderwood, in Dalkeith, Died before Oct. 1567.
James Calderwood, in Dalkeith, D. Oct. 1567.
—— Calderwood,, =Married before 1567, ——Cuthbertson.
Ninian Calderwood, B. 15 . . , D.
John Calderwood, B. 15 . . , D. Oct. 1585.
Adam Calderwood, B. 15 . . , D. ....
James Calderwood, B. 15 . .
William Calderwood, in Dalkeith, B. about 1550, styled Senior in 1597 ; D. about 1605.
Three Daughters. Agnes, Katharine and Margaret Calderwood.
John Calderwood, B. 15 . .
?
Thomas Calderwood, in Dalkeith, Died Oct. 1605.
William Calderwood, Alive in 1605.
James Calderwood, Alive in 1605.
?
William Calderwood, in Dalkeith, B. about 1573. Styled Junior in 1597; D. 16 . .
Mr DAVID CALDERWOOD, the Historian, B. 1575, D. Oct. 1650. S. P.
Peter Calderwood, B. 15 . , D. May 1610. =Married leaving a son, Thomas.
John Calderwood, Town Clerk of Dalkeith, B. 1653, D. Jan. 1706.

Alexander Calderwood, in Dalkeith, B. 1621, D. 16 . . . — Married in 1645, Janet Moffat.

Mr James Calderwood, Minister of Humbie, B. 1624, D. 1679. = Married Beatrix Congleton.

Thomas Calderwood, B. 162 . D. 16 . . = Married Margaret Stevinson.

David Calderwood, Apothecary, Burgess of Edinburgh, B. 16 . . D. 1658. S. P.

Archibald Calderwood, in Dalkeith, B. 16 . . , D. probably before 1650.

?

Of nine sons, the sixth, William Calderwood, B. 1661, passed Advocate before 1687, was knighted 1706, D. 1733.

Janet or Joanna Calderwood. = Married to Robert Hepburn, brother of William H. of Beinstown, in 1683.

Thomas Calderwood, Bailie, and Dean of Guild of Edinburgh, B. 160 ., D. about 1675 = Probably twice Married.

Thomas Calderwood, of Polton, Esq., (*Who presented the Historian's Manuscripts to the British Museum in* 1765.) B. 17 . . , D. 1774.

Mr William Calderwood, Minister of Dalkeith, B. 163 . D. March 1680. = Married Margaret Craig, who died in April 1683.

David Calderwood, Burgess of Edinburgh, 1673.

Robert Calderwood, alive in 1680.

Mr Archibald Calderwood, Minister of Holyroodhouse, B. 16 . . , D. 1681.

Mr Thomas Calderwood, erected Monument to his Father, &c., in Dalkeith Church.

Lewis Calderwood, dead in 1680; and other children.

☞See the Pedigree of the Calderwoods of Polton, in "The Coltness Collections."

A FEW unconnected notices, illustrative of the preceding Genealogical Table may here be subjoined :—

I. WILLIAM CALDERWOOD. In the Testament dative and inventory of James Calderwood in Dalkeyth, who died in October 1567, along with the names of his own children, Niniane, Johne, Adame, James, and three daughters, Calderwoods, we find *William, Agnes, Katherine, and Margaret Calderwoods*, and John and Christian Cuthbertsons, "sister and brethir barnis to the said umquhill James."—(Confirmed Testaments, penult. Oct. 1567.)

This William Calderwood is evidently the same person, who, as William Calderwood senior, along with his son William Calderwood younger, gave in a supplication, mentioned at page xxi., to the bailie of the regality of Dalkeith, 21st January 1596-7, "acclamand the heritable richt to the landis and gavill, &c., lyand on the north syde of the toun of Dalkeith," which serves, I think, to establish the fact, that this William Calderwood senior, was the historian's father, and William Calderwood junior his elder brother.

II. JOHN CALDERWOOD in Dalkeith, the second son of James, whose death took place in 1567, died of the pest, 10th August 1585. He appointed Adam Calderwood, his brother-german, tutor to John Calderwood his son, then a minor.—(Conf. Test., 17th June 1592.)

III. THOMAS CALDERWOOD in Dalkeith, and his spouse Eupheme Guthrie, both died of the pest in January 1605.

This Thomas, we may presume, was the grandson of the first James, who died in 1567. He left two daughters, Marion and Barbara Calderwoods, minors, and his effects were to be divided, by the advice of his brothers William and James.—(Conf. Test., 25th Feb. 1605.)

We may further conjecture that "Christian Galloway, spous

to William Calderwood in Dalkeith," who died 19th Nov. 1610, was the wife of the next brother.—(Conf. Test., 7th Feb. 1612.)

IV. William Calderwood, in Dalkeith, the elder brother of the historian, and styled junior, in 1596-7, was probably twice married.—"Elizabeth Douglas, spous to William Calderwood, in Dalkeith," died 27th March 1618, leaving two daughters, Elizabeth and Jane Calderwood, minors.—(Conf. Test., 20th June 1618.)

From the genealogy of the Calderwoods of Polton, we find that the historian's elder brother, William, about the year 1620, married Marion Sadler, by whom he had the five sons mentioned in the Genealogical Table, and one or more daughters. Not being named in his brother's testament in 1650, he had, no doubt, predeceased him.

V. Peter Calderwood, in Dalkeith, died 20th May 1610. He nominates William Calderwood, his brother lawful, as tutor to Thomas Calderwood, his son, a minor.—(Conf. Test., 8th March 1611.) This Thomas may probably be identified with the (No. XIII.) Dean of Guild of Edinburgh, to be afterwards mentioned.

VI. Mr David Calderwood, the Historian, born in 1575, died in 1650. From his Testament, printed at page xv., it will be seen that he nominates his nephew, Alexander Calderwood, bailie in Dalkeith, his executor, and makes special bequests to his other nephews, Mr James, Thomas, David, and his niece, Isobell. He also mentions Agnes Calderwood, spouse of Mr Oliver Calderwood, preacher in England.

VII. Archibald Calderwood, bailie of Dalkeith, was nominated one of the Commissioners of War, in the Parliament, 26th March 1647.—(Acta Parl. Scot., vol. vi. p. 277.) He was the younger brother of the historian, but not being mentioned in his will, in 1650, he probably had predeceased him.

VIII. David Calderwood, apothecary, burgess of Edinburgh, and nephew of the historian, died in the year 1657. In his Testament, dated at Edinburgh 15th February that year, he appoints his brother, Mr James Calderwood, minister of Humbie, sole executor, and leaves bequests to his brother-in-law, Mr Oliver Calderwood, and his son David; to his sister Isobell, and to his brothers, Alexander and Thomas; also to his sister, Elizabeth Calderwood, wife of John Denholm, and his brother-in-law, William Ramsay. The bequest, however, to his brother Alexander (of £200 "of the most desperate debt in his compt book, and he to seek it,") seems rather to indicate personal dislike, than brotherly affection.—(Conf. Test., 19th June 1658.)

IX. John Calderwood, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh, died in the year 1665. Janet Reid his relict spouse.—(Conf. Test., 9th Feb. 1666.)

X. Mr William Catherwood, was settled as minister at Heriot Kirk in 1617, and died in the year 1669. His will is dated 26th January that year. His "whole librare and bookes, estimat to two hundreth merks money." Margaret Law, his relict spouse; George and Eupheme Catherwood, their children.—(Conf. Test., 15th Jan. 1670.)

XI. Alexander Calderwood in Dalkeith, eldest nephew of the historian. He was appointed a commissioner in the Parliament 1648, and 1649, and also in March 1661; and a Justice of Peace, 9th Oct. 1663.—(Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vi. pp. 297, 373; vol. vii. pp. 90, 504.) In some borough proceedings in June 1653, he appears as heritable proprietor of the same tenement and lands in the High street of Dalkeith above noticed (No. I.) under the year 1596-7. From this we may undoubtedly conclude that he was the eldest son of William Calderwood, then styled junior, and thus any uncertainty is removed which has hitherto existed regarding the Historian's parentage.

XII. Mr James Calderwood, Minister of Humbie, was the second son of the Historian's elder brother. He was appointed by his brother David sole executor in 1658 (see No. VIII.); and was minister of that parish from 1649, till his death in the year 1679. His testament, dated at Edinburgh, 12th May 1679, is in favour of Beatrix Congleton, his relict spouse, and Jane Calderwood, his daughter.—(Conf. Test., 13th Feb. 1680.) Mr James Calderwood, minister, had a charter of the lands of Whytburgh, in the shires of Haddington and Edinburgh, 27th June 1677—(Reg. Mag. Sig.) The daughter Joanna Calderwood married Robert Hepburn, brother-german of William Hepburn of Beinston, and was served heir-general of her father, Mr James Calderwood, minister of Humbie, 14th June 1683 (Inquis. Generales, No. 6481). In her father's Confirmed Testament, the name of William Calderwood, his brother's son, in Dalkeith, appears as a witness.

XIII. Thomas Calderwood, Bailie and Dean of Guild, Edinburgh. (See No. V.) From his long connection with the Town Council of Edinburgh (from at least 1652 to 1673), it is evident he must have been a person of considerable note. He is usually styled merchant burgess of Edinburgh, and, as such, he had a charter of annual rents from the Barony of Ackergill and Reiss, in Caithness, 22d Dec. 1662. He seems to have been a stationer, or bookseller.—(Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 409. Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 281.) His name occurs among the Commissioners on Teinds, 28th Aug. 1672. (Acta Parl. Scot. vol. viii. p. 78.) I do not find his will recorded, but he died about the year 1675. (See No. XV.)

XIV. Mr William Calderwood, was admitted Minister of Dalkeith, 22d September 1659. It appears that he was the son of Thomas Calderwood, Dean of Guild (No. XIII.), probably by a first marriage. This we learn from the circumstance that he and his brother David were entered "merchant Burgesses and

Guild brether" in right of Thomas Calderwood, present Dean of Guild, their father, 19th November 1673. Thomas Calderwood, "son lawfull to umquhill Mr William Calderwood, Minister of Dalkeith," was entered Burgess and Guild brother, in his father's right, 22d February 1689. The Minister of Dalkeith conformed to Episcopacy, and died 4th March 1680. His wife, Margaret Craig, daughter of Robert Craig of Riccarton, survived him three years. By her Testament, dated 24th April 1683, she nominated Thomas, her eldest son, sole executor; and William Calderwood, writer in Edinburgh, became cautioner. (Conf. Test. 12th Dec. 1683.) This son erected a monument to his parents within the Church of Dalkeith, at the west end of the south wall. The inscription, with a translation, is printed in Monteith's Theatre of Mortality, Edinburgh, 1713, 8vo. In the list of debts due to the minister of Dalkeith, the sum of £96 is entered as owing by "Robert Calderwood, brother to the defunct;" His "librarie or books all estimat to vj c. (£600) lib." (Conf. Test. 30th July 1680.)

XV. Mr Archibald Calderwood, minister at the Abbey of Holyrood House, was also the son of Thomas Calderwood, Dean of Guild, (No. XIII.) He died in the year 1681, about the same time with his mother Elizabeth Mortimer, who is styled relict of Thomas Calderwood, late Dean of Guild, Edinburgh. (Conf. Test. 20th Jan. 1682. Elizabeth Wilson was served heir of her mother, Elizabeth Mortimer, and heir of provision of Mr Archibald Calderwood, minister of the Church of Holyroodhouse, her uterine-brother, 3d Dec. 1681. Their joint testament, &c., was given up by James Murray, her husband.

XVI. John Calderwood, stationer, burgess of Edinburgh, died in 1682. His Testament Dative and the Inventory of his effects, given up by Christian Auld, his relict spouse, is printed in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 289.

There is a Latin tract, entitled "Rich. Simonis Opuscula Critica adversus Isaacum Vossium. Edinburgi, typis Joannis Cal-

derwood, 1685." 4to. I suspect it was printed in Holland, and that the imprint is fictitious.

XVII. JOHN CALDERWOOD, town-clerk of Dalkeith, according to a tablet erected to his memory in the Church, was born in 1653, and died in January 1706. He was the son of James Calderwood, who married Margaret Scott in 1648, but apparently not the Historian's nephew, the minister of Humbie, as supposed by the Editor of the Coltness Collections.

XVIII. SIR WILLIAM CALDERWOOD of Polton, according to the same authority, was the sixth of nine sons of Alexander Calderwood, bailie of Dalkeith (the Historian's eldest nephew). He was born in 1661, and admitted Advocate 1st July 1687. His name occurs as Sheriff-depute of Edinburgh, in the proceedings of the Scotish Parliament, from 1696 to 1701; and received the honour of knighthood before his marriage in 1706. He was raised to the Bench as a Lord of Session, by the title of Lord Polton, in 1711, and died at the advanced age of 73, in August 1733. A minute account of his descendants is contained in the Appendix to the very curious volume already referred to, entitled "The Coltness Collections," Edinburgh, 1842. 4to.

Among other persons of the name, who flourished during the 17th century, it may be added, that,

William Calderwood had a charter of the lands and barony of Pittedie in Fife, 16th June 1671; he was fined in 1680; and his name, Calderwood of Pittedie, occurs in the Valuation Roll of Fife 1695.

Elizabeth Rankein, spouse of William Calderwood, apothecary, Burgess of Edinburgh, was served heir of her father, Patrick Rankein of Lumquhatt, 20th October 1668.

HISTORY

OF THE

KIRK OF SCOTLAND,

BY

MR DAVID CALDERWOOD.

APPENDIX.

Mr Robert Baillie, in his "Historicall Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland," printed at London in the year 1646, refers to Calderwood as the great authority in regard to all matters of ecclesiastical history; "THAT LIVING MAGAZINE OF OUR ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, MOST REVEREND MASTER CALDERWOOD." Two of Baillie's letters were at this time addressed to Calderwood himself, and are worthy of notice. In May 1646, he says, "We pray God to assist you in all your labours, especially in your HISTORY OF OUR CHURCH, which is more necessarie (more required) than you or many there would believe." Three months later, on the 4th August, he repeats the same wish: "I pray the Lord to strengthen and encourage you to write the HISTORIE OF OUR CHURCH, and to sett down your mind in the poynts now controverted, that we, who are but young men, may have from you grounds whereupon we may build with courage against the enemies of the truth."* In a subsequent letter Baillie further states, that at the General Assembly held at Edinburgh in August 1648, part of one session or meeting "was spent on encouraging Mr David Calderwood to perfyte his Church story;" and for this purpose that the sum of £800 Scots money, (or £66 : 13 : 4 sterling) had been voted to him.† In the Index of the unprinted Acts of Assembly, we accordingly find as No. 26, "Modification to Mr David Calderwood for his publick employment." Sess. 6. These unprinted Acts are unfortunately not preserved.

The existing manuscripts of Calderwood's History of the Church

* Letters and Journals, vol. ii. pp. 374, 384. Edinb. 1839, 3 vols. royal 8vo.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 60.

exhibit the most indubitable proofs of his unwearied labour and zeal both in collecting the materials, and endeavouring to render his work a full and faithful record of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland. But it seems very doubtful whether, at his advanced period of life, the resolution of the General Assembly was productive of any beneficial results, either as regards the enlargement of his History, or his receiving the money which was voted for that purpose. Neither is it easy to determine the precise time or order when these several manuscripts were transcribed or completed; but some remarks on this head will afterwards be made. At present it may be noticed that his larger manuscript breaks off at the year 1586; and it will be seen that another copy of his History, to the close of 1572, in a perfected state, and written in the year 1636, is still preserved. According to the title-page of that volume, it appears that Calderwood proposed to terminate his History at the accession of James the Sixth to the throne of England in 1603. We might have presumed, therefore, that ten or twelve years later, when the Historian was urged and encouraged to complete his work, his chief labour would have been in the continuation, in order to carry on the History from 1603 to the death of that Monarch in 1625. But such a presumption is not confirmed by an examination of the work itself, which bears internal evidence of having actually been completed to that period within two years of the King's death.

The Manuscript copies of the History of the Church by Calderwood may be referred to three classes:

I. The Manuscript in the British Museum, in three volumes, which may be assigned to the year 1627, and from which the Wodrow Society edition has been printed.

II. The lesser Manuscript, which was completed in 1631, and from which the folio edition in 1678 was taken.

III. The larger Manuscript, of which there are four copies known, exclusive of the Manuscript volume dated in 1636.

Notwithstanding what the editor of the present edition has ad-

vanced in his Preface, vol. i. p. vii., it seems clear that the author had intended for general information his more condensed copy, as published long after his death, and that the larger and fuller Histories were to be kept in reserve for vouchers, either to vindicate its accuracy or to supply its loss, at a time when such works were exposed to the risk of being wholly suppressed.

As the Manuscripts No. I. and II. may be considered as faithfully represented in the volumes published by the Wodrow Society, and in that of 1678, it may be advantageous, in the first instance, to present the reader with an abstract of the most important variations exhibited upon a collation of these two texts.

For undertaking this tedious process of collation we beg to acknowledge the kindness of Mr WILLIAM ROWAN, of the New College Library.—The larger Manuscripts No. III. will be more particularly described, in connection with occasional notes and extracts, under a separate division.

Before proceeding however to describe the edition of 1678, some particulars connected with its publication in Holland may be first given. It long remained doubtful to what authority it was entitled, or by whom the History was abridged; but the discovery of some letters preserved among Robert M'Ward's Correspondence, and published by Dr M'Crie in 1825,* established the point that it "was exactly printed from a manuscript which the Author himself had carefully prepared for the press, and, consequently, it can no longer be viewed either as of doubtful authority, or as an abridgment made by a different hand." † At the same time, Dr M'Crie ascertained that the manuscript itself, with corrections in Calderwood's hand, was still preserved in the library of Mr Douglas of Cavers.‡

* Memoirs of Veitch and Brydon, Appendix, pp. 495-503. Edin. 1825, 8vo.

† Ibid, p. 9.

‡ "This MS., containing corrections on the margin in Mr Calderwood's hand-writing, is still preserved, and is in the possession of James Douglas, Esq. of Cavers. From that family, distinguished by its adherence to Presbytery, Mr Carstairs most probably obtained the use of it at that time. Mr Thomas Wyllie, (the person referred to in

The passages in M'Ward's papers referring to Calderwood's History may be here quoted.

Letter from Mr John Carstairs *to* Mr Robert M'Ward.

November 30, 1676.

My Reverend and Dearest Brother,

. . . . . There cometh along in this vessell, directed to Mr Russell, some papers sent from John Cairnes: they are a rare and rich jewel, especially for the poor Church of Scotland, both shaming and alarming us,—Mr Calderwood's History, which with some difficulty and importunity two three of us have at last obtained. The copy is taken from his own manuscript, being the third and last cura, and faithfully collationed with it: it is very fairly wreatten, which four of us have payed for. You will, I am sure, read it with much both satisfaction and sorrow, and it will be acceptable beyond much gold. Mr Weily had dealt earnestly for it with the person in whose custody it was; and I did put Mr Wyly to write again to him, with my assurance that it should be both secretly and faithfully disposed of; and wrote after, but then obtained nothinge; but have since, in good providence, to my great satisfaction, obtained it. I know it's much longed for in both kingdoms, and probably will sell well if not feared. It makes a sad discovery of the dreadful opposition of our [royal] house, especially to the kingdom of Christ, which will bring it belike as a martyr to the fire. On many accounts it wold be kept severely closse and secret: the danger of discovery wold be great to many, which will be obvious to yourself. I have

this letter), was minister first at Borg, and afterwards at Mauchlin, from which he was removed to Kirkcudbright, some time before the Restoration. On the 29th of October 1667. he was permitted to return, from his confinement, to the south of the Forth, Edinburgh excepted.—(*Wodrow*, i. *passim*.) He afterwards accepted of an indulgence to the parish of Fenwick, on a call from the people, and died the "twentie day of July 1676."—(*Decr. Sec. Concil.* 16*th Jan.* 1677.) His son, Mr Robert Wyllie, who was tutor to the family of Cavers, and became minister of Hamilton after the Revolution, was much esteemed for his talents and learning.—(*Note by Dr M'Crie in* 1825.)

given the copy to John Cairnes,* to make of it what he can; and if it come through, it may, throughe God's blessing, make him somewhat up. Let it even be hastened with all convenient diligence, for this is the very seasoun for such a books coming out. Respect to the Author, who speaks most savourily all alonge of our honest and faithful great men, to the golden Work, and to the Church of Scotland, will, I hope, persuade yourselfe and Mr Brown to correct the proof-sheets, and I think worthy Wallace may herein be helpful; for it is of no particular man's concern, but a treasure of the Church. Title and preface may be thought of time eneugh; and its a good providence, I just now think, that it hath no title, since none of the printers will ever hear of the author's name till it be finished. It wold be done in such a letter as may sute the work, and yet not overcharge poor John with expence.

For Mr Macquard, Minister of the Gospel,
now at Rotterdame, these.

From the SAME *to the* SAME.

Edinburgh, March 8, 1677.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

I sent you, a quarter of a year agoe, in James Cassel's ship, what I judged a jewell, as you will also think, thoughe I understand he is but very lately gone, being detained by the frost. It is now more than ever a jewel, even as a brand snatched out of the burning of the monuments of the poor Church of Scotland. Our Church Registers being all taken out of a house here in Edinburgh this last week,† by some one or other unhappy person's information, who had seen Mr Robert Car his papers after his death. I fear the work shall not be gote done now, you both being absent; which made me doubtfull whether I should call for it again,

* Bookseller in Edinburgh at this time.
† See Letter on this subject in the Appendix to Dr M'Crie's volume.

when I heard of your removall thence, and that the vessell was not then gone. It will be much if it be not discovered when it is a doing, which wold make sad work. O, what wold they give now especially for it! The Lord preserve it, as a faithfull witness to his interests against the usurpations of prince and prelats, and for this poor Church. I salut all friends dearly, and am, my dearest, your own, J. K.

From the SAME *to the* SAME.

February 17, 1679.

MY DEAREST, AND OF ALL MEN, MOST OBLIGING FRIEND AND BROTHER,

I take this occasion to salute you much in the Lord, to whom you are dear, and in whose heart you have much roum, and to tell you, that remembering your peremptory assertion, that you wold doe no thinge that way, poor insignificant and very ignorant I the unfittest, you know of many, have constrained my selfe to scribble an Epistle to that book, which is now I suppose printed, being unwilling it should stick there for want of one; either of you two there ar a thousand times fitter for such a work. If there be any thinge unsound or unsuitable in it, I know you will, and earnestly desire you may, for the workes sake, and for poor my sake, helpe it; if it be not fitt and apposite, lay it aside, and deny your selfe that far as to write another, which I know the Lord heth many wayes inabled you to doe to much better purpose. If you think that this may passe without disgrace or prejudice to the book (for it heth my subitan and raw thoughts and reasonings, without reading any thinge on the subject for such an end, from some glimering of light and reminiscence of what I think I have some time read or heard.) You will see to the exact revising and printing of it your selfe, and the punctuation of it: if it be otherwise than as I say in the close, as to not one line or sentence added to it, taken from it, or altered to the perverting of the author's sense, (as there was none by me), you will

alter what I have so peremptorily said, and put it in some safe generall, that no untruth be so confidently asserted, which may also be contradicted. Use your freedom with it, for the work and cause sake.

From Mr Robert M'Ward *to* Mr John Brown.

Deare B.

I herewith send you, first, a seled letter to your self; secondly, I send you a letter of Mr Carstairs, with the Epistle to Kalderwood's History, wherewith I am pleased, for I have run it over. You may also read it; onely I think, if you judge fit, such a word might be inserted towards the close, that it will be unworthy of any serious person, much more of a minister of the Gospel, not to provide himself with a copy of one of these and peruse. Next, for I writ things as they come in my head, if you think good it may be, it were not amisse, towards the beginning of that part of the preface where the History itself is particularly spoken too, for preventing the Reader's neglect and contempt of the whole, if he finde not somewhat tickling and takeing in the beginning, to drop such a word as this: "However things are more briefly hinted in the beginning of the History, and onely a cleare deduction of the series of Assemblies held forth, which was the Author's design, yet the following part is full, sweet, and satisfactory; wherein things are handled," etc. This is all I have to say of it, except that I judge it must be transcribed, for I doubt if this hand can be read.

Mr Brown's *Answer*.

This Preface must be helped in some things. Our greatest troubles about church government with K. J. did not commence with the Tulchan bishops, but began, you know, an. 1596, before which time these Tulchans were gone and evanished. Mention

must be made in it of the Lord's honouring our Church with suffering on that account before all the Churches of Christ. Some words in the end must be changed.* Vale.

From these letters it appears that the volume, although bearing the date 1678, was not completed until 1679, and that the Preface to the Reader may be considered as the joint production of Carstairs and M'Ward. The volume is in folio, pp. 814, and was printed at Rotterdam by Waesberg, although neither the place or printer's name is mentioned in the book itself. An exact copy, but somewhat reduced in size, of the title-page is given on the opposite leaf.

A number of copies of the History apparently having been brought to this country and remaining unsold a new title-page was afterwards substituted, but the only difference consists in the line of imprint having been changed to

"Printed in the Year M. DCC. IV."

The Preface to the Reader was also reprinted, without alteration, and a very imperfect Index,† upon eight pages, added at the end of the book.

April 1848. D. L.

* The "History" referred to in a previous paragraph of this answer, was evidently not Calderwood's, but the well-known treatise by Brown himself, entitled "The History of the Indulgence," first printed in Holland, 1678, 4to.

† There was published in 1836, a few copies, for subscribers, of "A Descriptive Index to Calderwood's Abridged History of the Church of Scotland, by the Rev. James Inglis, Edinburgh," folio, pp. 15.

THE TRUE
HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH
OF
SCOTLAND,
From the beginning of the Reformation, unto the end of the Reigne
of King JAMES VI.

Wherein, befides fome touches of the Civil State and alteration of Affaires, in their due order; there is not only a feries of the Affemblies, and of the Principal of their Actings recorded; but alfo a full and plaine Relation of the Trials and Troubles, which the Church did meet with from Enemies to the purity of her *Doctrine*, *Worfhip*, *Difcipline* and *Government*; of the feveral Alterations, caufed or occafioned thereby; of the many fad and lamentable faintings and backflideings of Perfons, fometimes eminent in the Church; of the faithful contendings of others for the Prerogatives of Chrift, as the alone Head of the Church, for the purity of His Inftitutions, and for the Liberty and Privileges of His Church and Kingdom, againft all the Enemies thereof; and particularly againft *Eraftianifme* and *Prelacy*, the two grand Enemies of the *Difcipline* and *Government* of the Church of Chrift; and of their fad fufferings upon the account thereof.

Written by

That learned and laborious Servant of Christ

MR DAVID CALDERWOOD.

At the

Appointment of the General Aſſembly, by whom his laboures herein vvere ſeveral times reviſed and examined, and at length approved for the Preſs.

Printed in the Year M. DC. LXXVIII.

TO THE READER.

THE Discipline and Government of the Church of Christ are undoubtedly to all considering Christians not only of Divine Institution; but also, in regard of their necessary, profitable and highly commendable use, as hedges and wals, to fence and secure the Doctrine and Worship thereof against all irruptions and intrusions of impure humane inventions, how speciously soever pretending to shewes of decency and splendor; and possibly even to higher degrees of a more conceited and carnal than real and spiritual impressing Majesty: So that when breaches are made in the former, the latter cannot be long keeped safe, intire, and pure, in their native and primative simplicity (wherein nevertheless the wisdom, holiness and power of God are in truth most illustrious) as sad experience in many if not all ages hath clearly and convincingly proved: And certainly, to call in question, let be down-right to deny, that either Church Discipline or Government is divinely Instituted, seemeth to be an high imputation to, and deep reflection upon the wisdom and faithfulness of Jesus Christ, who as a son, yea as a soveraigne over His own House, is faithful, as Moses his servant was, in all the House of God; as if He had left the Government thereof ambulatory, and alterable at the arbitriment of secular Rulers, under strong temptations to be prejudged and byassed by their lusts and corrupt interests, to the modelling of it so, as they mistakingly think in their depraved apprehensions may best sute the nature and constitution of their respective Civil Governments; and had given them a power, at their sole will and pleasure, without any commission from Him, to determine what shall be the Government thereof; and to calculat it rather to the meridian of what they judge to be their own civil interest, than to the honour of the alone absolutely Supreame Governour and Head thereof, or to the spiritual good, advantage and edification of the

Church, the great end of all divine ordinances and institutions, (as if it were not enough that our Lord had so fairly distinguished unless they have also the liberty to subject, according to their unreasonable and various pleasures, the things of God, to the things of Cæsar; albeit, on the other hand, the sacred observance of that excellent distinction, and that with a grateful retribution of that preference, wherewith our Lord was first pleased to honoure them, would certainly prove their most wise, solide and advantagious policy;) and to appoint such Orders of spiritual Office-bearers therein, as himself hath not instituted and appointed, and to whom it may be said in Tertullian's words, *Qui estis? Quomodo et unde venistis? Quid in meo agitis, non mei?* At what a rate of rage and disdaine would this be resented by the Powers of the World, (who are all, even the greatest and most soveraigne of them, but petty *Reguli*, and indeed lower and less significant, than these ridiculous ones of Ividot, when compared and coming in competition with Jesus Christ, the Prince of the Kings of the Earth, and the alone King and head of the Church) if they should by any, especially their own subjects and servants, be thus imposed upon? Can it be thought or asserted, with any the least shew or shadow of reason, that Moses the servant should have been so exact, particular and punctual, in describing and prescribing what relateth to the Government of the Church of the Jewes, under the Old Testament, and that Jesus Christ, Moses's master, a Son and Lord over His own house, should have been so altogether deficient, in setting down what concerneth the Government of the Christian Church, under the New Testament, as not to have determined so much as the very forme thereof, but left it utterly undetermined, and variable as many wayes, as the many and variable apprehensions of the Civil Rulers in the State should, according to the imagined advantages or prejudices of their secular interests, suggest unto them. But it can abide very little debate with serious discerning Christians, that that forme of Government in the Church is uncontrovertibly best for kings and kingdomes, which most promotteth religion and righteousness, the very pillars of thrones; which

serveth most to preserve godliness, righteousness and sobriety against their contraries; which maketh the face of a Church most beautiful, and to shine most gloriously, not with worldly pomp, or with the splendour of humane inventions, but with sound faith, pure worship, and holiness of life; and which withal conduceth most for truth and peace against heresie and schisme: All which ends are, sure, better seen to, and much more easily attained by a particular forme of Government, that is of Divine Institution, and warranted by the Word of God, than by that, which is devised by the wit of sinful, fallible and easily prejudicated men. We know, that to bear off this most just and weighty reason, it will be clamoured here, That it is most highly congruous and sutable to the liberty of the Gospel-Church, wherewith Christ her head hath made her free, that she should be exempted from such particular injunctions and impositions, in the most minute things, relating to the government thereof, to which the Jewish Church, as in a sort of bondage, was subjected. But, beside that the forme of the Church her government is not, nor can well be called, so minute and little momentous a thing; and that it be a very frivolous argueing to conclude, that because the Christian Church is relieved of the yoke of Jewish prescriptions, therefore it is abandoned to an undefined liberty, contrary both to the wisdom and will of Christ, who hath manifestly setled it, under a more excellent, easie and far better adapted forme; is it not obvious to the observation even but of very overly considerers, that are not blinded or byassed with prejudice or self-interest, that under the specious and plausible pretext of liberty, whereby this allegation is palliated and plastered over, the Church of Christ, under the New Testament, many other more advantagious and comfortable wayes by Him made free, is wofully entangled into a yoke of most grievous bondage, as to her Government, beyond what the Church of the Jewes, under the Old Testament, was by the most particular and precise Divine institutions and impositions; being left (as such pretended patrons of, and pleaders for her liberty will needs have it) quite destitute of any forme of government of divine in-

stitution, and to be governed very unskilfully and improperly, and for the most part very tyrannically, just as the arbitriment of the Civil Magistrat, within whose dominions she in providence falleth to sojourne, doth dictat to him to be most quadrant with his own politic interest? Doth this look like the Church her Christian liberty indeed, even that liberty, wherewith the Son of God, her blessed Head, hath made her free? Sure, the Jewish Church under the law had, at least in this respect, more true liberty, than the Christian Church under the Gospel hath; unless men shall unreasonably, if not irreligiously and impiously, think, that there is less liberty, and greater bondage, in being subjected to many, and most particular Divine institutions and impositions, than to as many, or even fewer, meerly humane ones, determinable and alterable at men's pleasure. Taking it then for granted (as it hath generally been in the Christian Church, without any great or stated controversie about it, till of late some men, and particularly some ministers in this Isle, minding partly, as it is like, to gratifie the humore of Civil Rulers, itching after a soveraigne dominion over the Church, as well as over the State, and abhorring Christ's government in his own House, as *Imperium in Imperio*, as Court parasites, particularly Ludovicus Molinæus, (who, amongst other evidences of his enmity to the government of Christ, doth most bitterly snarle at, and inveigh against these Courts of Christ, the Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, mis-alleiging and perverting some of the Acts thereof, in his Latine book, intituled *Paranesis ad Ædificatores Imperii in Imperio*, as will be evident in the following History) are pleased odiously to phrase it: As if all the Confessions of our Faith and Solemne Declarations, were of no force to remove this gross mistake and groundless jealousie, the very spring of these dangerous copings with Jesus Christ, the alone Head and King of his Church, of the inconsistence of such two collateral and co-ordinat powers, albeit conversant about different objects and ends, and quite distinct as to the manner of their administration, could avail nothing to the manifesting of our Christian subjection to Magistracy, from the allowable rights whereof

we desire not in the least to derogate; and partly unwilling to displease or disoblige the Lordly Prelates, newly re-introduced, and Jericho-like raised up againe, cross the dreadful interdiction of the curse of the Solemne League and Covenant, indispensably and irrelaxably obligeing all ranks and persons in these lands, from the King that sitteth upon the Throne, to the meanest Subject; and liking withal to retaine the publick peaceable exercise of their ministrie, with the annexed sweet morsel of the benefice, and it may be, not without hopes of promotion to a better one, though it should be with owning of, submitting and conforming to, Prelatick government, which probably they thought might otherwise have been looked at as justly odious and abominable, considering all, that before the late Revolution had been, with much strength of reason and religion, spoken, written and done, in these Kingdoms, against that Hierarchie and usurped dominion of Prelates, and in favours of Presbytery; these, Ministers, I say, have taken on them very confidently to assert an indifferency of all sorts or formes of Church government, and an arbitrary determinableness of the same by the Civil Magistrate, as may most satisfyingly to himself sute the forme of his Politick government.) But taking it, as we have said, for granted, both from the demonstrable evidence of its necessity and use, and the certainty of its Divine institution, (which alone is enough to supercede all other arguments, not so fit neither to be particularly insisted on in a short Epistle) That there is a particular forme of Church-government of Divine Right; it may humbly, to the commendation of God's gracious condescension be affirmed, that, amongst all the Reformed Churches, none have found more favour in His sight, to be kept almost constantly and continually contending for the prerogatives of Jesus Christ, as King and sole Head of his Church, for the privileges graciously bestowed upon the Church, and for the particular forme and species of Government, settled by the unalterable law and constitution of her only Founder and supream governor, against the powers of the earth, and perfidious apostatizing church-men, and that from the very beginning, than the

Church of Scotland (as this following History, being mostly a plaine relation hereof, will aboundantly make evident) after she had been privileged with the establishment not only of pure Doctrine and Gospel-worship, in the native simplicity thereof, according to divine Institution; but also of Discipline and Government, according to the New Testament Apostolic pattern, and that of the purest and most primitive times: Which some of the greatest patrons and admirers of Prelacy have been constrained to acknowledge; as namely the Lord Digby, in his printed letter to Sir Kenelme Digby, hath this remarkable passage, containing in it, though not designedly (which makes it yet the more remarkable) a notable commendation of, and a noble testimonie unto, the Government of the Church of Scotland, purely Presbyterian, without Monarchical Episcopacy; "He (said that noble Lord) that would reduce the Church now to the form of Government in the most primitive times, should not, in my opinion, take the best nor the wisest course; I am sure, not the safest; for he would be found peecing towards the Presbytery of Scotland, which, for my part, I beleeve, in point of Government, hath a greater resemblance, than either yours, or ours, to the first age of Christ's Church." And K. James VI., famous for learning among princes, did, when free of his after-temptations and prejudices, and so in best case to be beleeved, gravely commend and bear testimony to the Reformed Church of Scotland, more generally, when in the open face of a Solemne National Assembly *Anno* 1590, a little after his return with his Queen from Denmark, he publickly thanked God, that "he was born in such a time of the light of the gospel; and that he was King of a countrey, where there is such a Church, even the sincerest Church on earth, Geneva not excepted, seeing they keep some festival days, as Easter and Christ's Messe; what have they for them? as for our neighbours in England, their service is an ill-mumbled Mess in English; they want little of the Mess, but the liftings. Now I charge you, my good people, barons, gentlemen, ministers and elders, that you all stand to your purity, and exhort the people to do the same;

and so long as I have life and crown, I shall maintaine the same against all deadly." And more particularly, his testimony to and approbation of Presbyterian government, exercised in the Church of Scotland, appeares plainely by the weighty reason he gave to an English divine, enquiring with admiration, why our Church was never troubled with Heresie: "For (said the King) if it spring up in a paroch, there is an eldership to take notice of it, and suppress it; if it be too strong for them, the Presbytery is ready to crush it; if the Presbytery cannot provide against the obstinate, in the Synod he shall finde more witty heads; if he cannot be convinced there, the General Assembly will not spare him." It is true, indeed, that that Prince did afterwards by all meanes vigorously set himself, utterly to overthrow and crush that Discipline and Government, happily established in this Church, and highly commended and applauded by himself; being picqued by the necessarily called-for plaine, free and faithful dealing of the Ministers in Scotland, in some things that were crosse to his humore and inclination, but greatly for the advantage of the interest of Christ, and for the edification of the Church; and that his access to the Crown of England might be the more facilitated, by making himself gracious to the Prelates of that Church, whom he knew to have an inveterat and irreconcileable antipathy with the Divine simplicity of the Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland; and being belike withall disposed (which is, alas! too readily and frequently incident to secular Princes) to encroach on the liberties of the Church, and to assume and exerce an undue supremacy over her; to which he was not a little encouraged if not instigated by some ministers, who being weary of the lowly, but lovely purity of preaching Presbyters, were Diotrephes-like ambitiously coveting a prelation to and preheminence above their brethren; and by some of the nobles and great men of the kingdom, who were greedily gaping and grasping after the revenues of the Church, which they could not so easily come by, unless there were some particular, and (as they were then called) Tulchan-Bishops kept in the Church (after they had been brought

into the Church in K. James' minority) who, being to some satisfaction of their lustful avarice and pride gratified with the title, and with a little addition to their former maintainance, might the more easily let down the milk, and make a surer conveyance of the far greater part of the benefices to the sucking Lords; and then, after these Tulchan-Prelates were, through the blessing of the Lord, on the constant and faithful endeavours and opposition of the gracious and zealous ministers of the Church of Scotland, wholly abolished, he was againe moved by some wicked, corrupt, and Popishly affected courtiers, to trouble the Church, (which was then carefully labouring to preserve the purity of Religion from Popish corruptions; and earnestly pressing him to withstand the designes of the Popish exiled Lords, who were seeking to returne); and to put her upon the defence of her owne privileges, by starting questions about his owne power in Church matters; where by piece and piece he introduced his owne supremacy, by the connivance (at first) and underhand dealing, and (at last) by the open apostacie of wretched church men, who sacrificed the prerogative of Christ, and the liberty of the Church, to the Court lust. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* Hence was it, that our faithful and famous ministers had so many, so various, so sore and so long continued struglings and wrestlings with that great Prince, and his abetters in Church and State, to obtaine any Civil sanctions for the legal establishment of the discipline and government of this Church; and to preserve and maintaine the same against the more frequent, more cunning and covered, and the more violent and open assaults and invasions that were made thereon: Whereof this following Ecclesiastic History, much coveted and long looked-for, giveth us a very particular, full, faithfull and faire account; in commendation of which, we need say no more, but tell thee, that it was written by famous Mr DAVID CALDERWOOD, whose praise is in the Churches of Christ, as otherwise, so particularly upon the account of his being, but under another and borrowed name of Edwardus Didoclavius, the author of that very learned and elaborate treatise, intituled, *Altare Damascenum*;

wherein he doth by Scripture, Reason and Fathers, irrefragably and unanswerably, (and indeed, for any thing we know, it hath not been answered to this day, nor belike will afterward), demonstrate the iniquity of designing and endeavouring to model and conforme the Divinely simple Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland, to the pattern of the pompously Prelatick and ceremonious Church of England: Under some conviction whereof it seems K. James himself was, though implacably displeased with it, when, being after the reading of it somewhat pensive, and being asked the reason by an English Prelat, standing by and observing it, told him he had seen and read such a book; whereupon the Prelate, willing his Majestie not to suffer that to trouble him, for they would answer it, he replyed, not without some passion, "What - - - will you answere, man? There is nothing here than scripture, reason and fathers." As, therefore, we are hopeful, that this notable History, compiled and written by such an accomplished and credite-worthy author, thereunto appointed and authorised by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and several times revised, amended, and at length approved, (as could be evidenced by the Acts of our Assembly, which herewith had been published for verification, if our Church-Registers had not been seized,) will be the more commended and endeared unto thee, that it is almost the onely monument left (all the publick Registers of the Church of Scotland having (as was hinted) by Divine permission, for our farther trial and affliction, lately fallen into the hands of the Prelates, and their partners, the known enemies of her true liberties) to give an account, which we may trust, of the earnest and strenuous strivings of our renowned ancestors, these mighty and magnanimous men of God, for the royal prerogatives and crown-privileges of Jesus Christ, the alone Soveraigne and Head of his own Church; and for the liberties thereof, invaded and encroached upon by the secular Soveraigne, aided and assisted therein by apostatized and treacherous Church men, and by self-seeking States-men; (by which Christianly, couragious, valiant and heroick contendings of these

worthies, our unworthy faintings and unfaithfulness in suitable and called-for withstanding of and witnessing against the no smaller, but much greater encroachments and invasions, that have been made in our dayes, on the same most precious interests, by the super-exalted supremacy are sadly reproved and condemned. Alas! whither can we cause our shame now go, when the crown is fallen from our head; and we say not, wo unto us, for we have sinned in not holding fast the Word of the Church of Scotland her patience?) So we can most seriously, sincerely and solemnely, protest unto thee, that this is the true copie, done with the last care of the Author, as that was designed for the press, without the least alteration to pervert the sense of the Author, whatever somewhat in the stile might have been called for. Ere I close, I shall only advertise and caution thee against what is common amongst some Readers, who, if they finde not something tickling and taking in the very entry of any book, indulge themselves in a neglect and contempt of the whole; viz., That however things are more briefly hinted here in the beginning, and onely a clear deduction of the series of Assemblies held forth, which was only designed in this Church History, judging it superfluous to insist in that which is excellently done in that renowned chronicle, The History of the Reformation, &c., commonly called Knox's History: Yet the following part is so full, and things so held forth to satisfaction, as it will be unworthy of any serious person, who desireth to be acquaint with the craft, cunnings and artifices of the enemies of the work of God; and with the Christian carriage and holy courage of our renowned worthies; and much more unworthie of any Minister of the Gospel, not to provide himself with one of these, which by a gracious providence hath been preserved for our good, and the good of Posterity, and peruse it. Now the Lord blesse graciously the work, seasonably brought to light, towards the recovering and reviveing of the wonted, but, alas! much worne out, true zeal and holy boldness of the Ministers and Professours of the Church of Scotland, for the oppressed Liberties thereof. Amen. FAREWELL.

CALDERWOOD'S HISTORY.

COLLATION OF THE EDITION PUBLISHED IN HOLLAND IN 1678, WITH THAT OF THE WODROW SOCIETY, IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

WODROW EDITION.—VOLUME FIRST.

"The Preamble," on pages 1 to 55, is wholly omitted in the edition 1678. From page 57 to 280, a few brief hints are selected on pages 1 and 2; and from the concluding portion of the volume, page 281 to 590, a short summary of events, previously to the year 1560, is given on pages 3 to 11.

VOLUME SECOND.

The period of this volume, extending from the year 1560 to 1570, is likewise very summarily treated in the edition 1678, extending from page 11 to page 46; and ten of these pages are occupied with THE CONFESSION OF FAITH, 1560.

Page 11, line 13, *Thanks were given to God for his mercifull deliverance from the tyrannie of the Frenchmen.* (After these words, the following paragraph occurs at page 13 of the edit. 1678.)

By the preceeding discourse you may see, the interprisers of the work of reformation intended no other thing, but the reformation of Religion, that is, the overthrowing and demolishing of the places and monuments of Idolatry, and to erect the face of a

visible Church within the bounds committed to their charge, and to assist others in the cause by mutual defence. What happened sometime to be done by the rascal multitude, without common consent of the Congregation, or direction of their Counsel, is not to be imputed to the Congregation. They purged themselves sufficiently, that they intended not to set up the Duke, nor Lord James, in authority. In end indeed they were constrained to suspend the Queen Regent's government, fortifying the town of Leith with strangers, without consent of the Estates, and for sundry other causes alledged in the act of suspension. And to this effect had the concurrence of the most part, if not almost of the whole Countrey: and so the cause of the Commonwealth concurred with the cause of Religion.

Page 535, line 2, *and to report to the next Assemblie:* but I finde them not. Yet ye may see what things they judged offensive in Bishops, or Ministers.

VOLUME THIRD.

Several passages or sentences occur in the edition 1678, not to be found in this and the subsequent volumes of the Wodrow Society edition. In selecting these, without any further special explanation, it is to be observed, that the references on the left hand side of the page are to the Wodrow edition, and the connecting words of that edition are here printed in italic letters.

Page 163, line 5, *for discharge of the letters of inhibition.* By this answer, ye may see, that the Policie of the Kirk was not thought yet perfect, howbeit the Lords erred in that kinde of Policie, which they aimed at; as ye shall hear.

Page 165, line 24, *the Superintendent of Fife and Mr Johne Douglas,* Rector of the University of St Andrews, *came to Leith.*

Page 168, line 20 *from foot*. In the third Session, *they gave full commission and power*.

Page 169, line 10, *to be registered in the Register of the Assemblie*.

Yet neither the Instructions nor the Articles are to be found in the Register. They were in great haste; and might not continue long together, as they confess in the third Session; whether by reason of the troubles of the time, and civile wars between the Queen's faction and the partie for the King; or their suddain calling to this Convention, I know not; and therefore they committed matters of greatest weight to some few Commissioners, whom it was easie for the Court to draw to their side. Mr Knox was in St Andrews in the mean time, and not able to travel to the Assemblies, by reason of his bodily infirmitie. (Part of this quotation occurs at the top of page 170.)

Pages 170–196. *The Articles, &c., concluded at Leith:* (These are abridged in the edition 1678, pages 50 to 54, with the addition of the following paragraph at page 55. Some portion of it, however, occurs in the Wodrow edition, at page 207.)

Here ye see, this Book for the most part concerneth the provision of the Old titles of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Chancellars and such like, to Ministers; and of Abbacies and Priories to other qualified persons, to vote in Parliament as persons of Ecclesiastical estate. Here is a fair shew of restoring benefices of cure, great and small, to the Kirk: But in effect it was to restore only titles, which noblemen perceived, could not be given conveniently to themselves; but they gripped to the commodity, in obtaining from the titulars, either temporal lands, fewed to themselves, or tithes, or pensions to their servants or dependers: And therefore the Bishops, admitted according to this new order, were called in jest, Tulchane Bishops. A *Tulchane* is a calf's skin stuffed full with straw to cause the cow give milk. The Bishop had the title, but my Lord got the milk or commoditie. Yet in this Book, no farther power is allowed to Bishops

or Archbishops then before to Superintendents. Nothing here concerning Discipline, process of Excommunication, order of Ministration of the Sacraments, and many other heeds contained in the first Book of Discipline. So we may see, what it was that withheld sundrie Lords from approving the Book of Discipline, even that there was another order prescribed in it, for bestowing of the Kirk's rents, then they could be well content with: And therefore it seemeth, that they now allow the Book of Discipline, in so far as it is not crossed or altered by this Book. The Superintendent of Angus, a man too tractable, might easily be induced by his Chief, the Earle of Marre, Regent for the time, to condescend to the heeds and articles of this Book. How these heeds and articles were accepted by the Assemblies following, ye shall hear incontinent.

Page 206, line 15, *my Lord getteth* the fat of *the benefice.*

Page 207, line 2. *The Bishop of Caithnesse, Mr John Spottiswood, Superintendent of Lothian, and Mr David Lindsay,* that is, the persons representing the Archdeacon of St Andrews, the Archdeacon of Lothian, and the Chancellor, *sitting, with the Rector, upon a forme before the pulpit.*

Page 207, line 20, &c. *Notwithstanding, &c.* (The Author's "Observations upon this inauguration" of Douglas, are given more fully in the edit. 1678: viz.)

This was the first sort of Bishops, which was brought in to our reformed Kirk: for the converted Bishops at the Reformation, were not suffered to exerce their old Episcopal office, nor yet to bear the office of a Superintendent, or of a Commissioner or Visiter, but only when, and how long it pleased the Assemblie; and that more, because they had rents to bear their charge, than for their gifts and good qualities. Never one of them had the credite to be Moderator of the General Assemblie. These Bishops, now agreed upon, are in power Superintendents only, and admitted only as

Superintendents. It was easie to the Court to obtaine the consent of many Ministers to this sort of Episcopacie, and other articles of the Book, some being poor, some being covetous and ambitious, some not taking up the gross corruption of the office, some having a carnal respect to some Noblemen, their friends. But the Book was never allowed by the General Assemblie, howbeit this sort of Bishops were tollerated for three or four years.

Page 210, line 13, *to report the same to the Assemblie.* What was done at this conference we know not, for we finde no report made, nor the conclusions insert in the Register. But we may easily collect, that the Book was not approved, by a new Commission appointed in the next Assemblie to revise the Book; or els that the Conference was not holden.

Page 210. *The Bishop of St Andrews hath many offices.* (This and the paragraph on page 212, "Beza's Letter to Mr Knox," are more fully reported in the edit. 1678, viz.)

Complaint upon the New Bishop.

At this Assemblie, when some of the Universitie presented a bill, putting them in remembrance, how Mr John Douglas promised, when he was to be admitted Bishop, to demitt all the offices, which might impede him to execute the office of a Bishop, and especially the Rectorie of the Universitie, and Provostrie of the New Colledge: yet this Assemblie, for certain causes moving them, continued him in the Rectorie till the next Assemblie; providing, in the mean time, a qualified person be provided to the Provostrie, according to the foundation. Mr Knox, when he heard of it, (for he keeped house by reason of the weakness of his bodie, except when he was to teach), lamented that so many offices were laid upon the back of an old man, which twenty men of the best gifts were not able to bear; and said, he would be disgraced and wracked. And, indeed, he had neither that honour, health, nor wealth, which he had before. Mortoun and his friends took up a great part of his rent in taks, fews, pensions. As he was unable

of his bodie to travel, so was he more unable of his tongue to teach; yet little respect had the Court to the abilities of his person, so that commoditie could be reaped by vertue of his title.

Page 212, line 16. A passage of Beza's letter to Mr Knox.

Theodor Beza being informed by Mr Knox, as appeareth, of the intention of the Court to bring in Bishops, directeth a letter to Mr Knox, dated at Geneva, the twelfth of Aprile, which is extant among his Epistles, wherein he acknowledgeth it to be the great gift of God, that the Kirk of Scotland hath the pure Religion and good Order, the band to hold fast the Doctrine, and beseecheth him and his fellow-labourers to hold fast these two, and to remember, that if the one be lost, the other cannot continue long. "But," saith he, "I would have you, my dear Knox, and the other brethren, to remember that which is before your eyes. As Bishops brought forth the Papacie; so false Bishops—the relicts of Poperie—shall bring in Epicurisme to the world. They that desire the Church's good and safety, let them take heed of this pestilence; and seeing ye have put that plague to flight timously, I heartily pray you, that ye never admit it againe; albeit it seem plausible with the pretence or colour of keeping unity, which pretence deceived the ancient Fathers, yea, even many of the best of them."

Page 222, line 11, *alwise adhering to the former protestation.*

Here ye may see, they condescend, or rather protest, that the articles and heeds agreed upon, be received, not till the King's perfect age, as was agreed at Leith; but only for the *interim*, till a more perfect order be obtained at the hands of the King's Majestie's Regent and Nobilitie, for which they would press, as occasion should serve: And this is to be understood of things resolved upon alreadie, or of what should be resolved upon; for as yet they understood not what shall be the functions of Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Chancellars; and so could not as yet resolve upon them. The Bishops power, in matters spiritual, was defined in the Book, not to exceed the power and authoritie of Superintendents. Neither

are they content with their present judgment and protestation; because they had but one diet to read and consider all; but referre farther consideration to farther opportunitie; so that in effect they are not fully resolved in any head, but all the heads and conclusions hang in suspense. This was the first appearing against these heads and conclusions: but ye shall hear of more in the Assemblie following. It was hard to root up in one hour, that which the Court had plotted and still cherished.

Page 237, (last paragraph.) Master Knox departed this life upon the twenty-fourth of November, the light and comfort of our Kirk, and a patterne to Ministers for holiness of life, soundness in doctrine, and couragious libertie in rebuking of Persons of whatsoever rank. Bishop Ridley, notwithstanding his opposition to the Book of Common Prayer and English Ceremonies, confesseth in a letter to Mr Grindal, that he was a man of good wit, of much good learning, and earnest zeal. In eloquence and forcible expression of his minde, either by word or writ, he surpassed all other of his calling in this Nation. How profound he was in divinitie, that work of his upon Predestination may give evidence. Incredible was the success of his paines in planting the Gospel and the work of Reformation, till Religion was so established that scarce a Papist durst set up his head, and avouch Popery. He alone did more good then all the Superintendents, and for his gifts was more esteemed. *How many things did he foretell, &c.*

Page 275, line 15, *to report their proceedings to the next Assemblie.* Here ye may see, how Bishops and Superintendents were subject to the General Assemblie; but the Prelats, that afterwards overruled, did well provide, that they should have no Assemblies, to censure them.

Page 285, line 7. *So*, upon the third of August, about four afternoon, *he was thrust off the ladder.*

Page 285, line 22, *where he was* layd, *viz.*, in the ground of the steeple of Leith.

Page 306, line 27, *not onlie of Ministers, but also other members of all Estates*, which Assemblies have been since the first Ordinance continuallie keeped in such sort, that the most Noble and highest Estate have joyned themselves to these Assemblies, as members of one bodie, voting, concurring and authorizing all things therein concluded. Howbeit this Act, whereof mention is made here, be not now to be found among the printed Acts of Parliament, we doubt not, but there was such an Act, otherwayes they would not have appealed to the Regent's own knowledge, nor acknowledged it as a known truth. *Yet the Regent asked, &c.*

Page 363, line 24, *appointed in the Provinciall Assemblies.*

Here ye see the Policie of the Kirk was not perfected and established rashly, but deliberatly; and the most learned in the Countrey appointed to conferre upon the heeds of it, for a preparation to the next General Assembly. Our Kirk hath not had worthier men since, and of better gifts, then these above named. In the mean time, thus far have they alreadie agreed upon in the Assemblie, that the name of a Bishop is common to all pastors, and that every one ought to have a particular flock and charge; that a Minister may have, beside his own particular charge, visitation of other flocks; not by his proper office, but by commission, which is bounded and qualified, as ye have heard. And thirdly, that Bishops, Superintendents, and Visiters are in effect all but Visiters, and of equal power or pre-eminence for the time: and yet even this power of Visitation was not thought necessarie, where the Kirk was well constituted, as ye shall see in the own place.

Page 382, last line. Here ye may see, what pains were taken upon the Book of Policie and how that the Estate of Bishops and Superintendents was removed, not by guesse or temerariously, but with great deliberation, and after disputation and reasoning at

length, not only in several conferences of the most learned within the Realme, but also publickly in Assemblies, and not in one Assemblie only, but in many: Whereas the Episcopal Government was established in one Assemblie, without reasoning or libertie to protest. Here was no briberie, nor moyen of Court. Here ye see they have already agreed upon all the heads of the Policie, except the three above specified, which were referred to farther disputation and reasoning, so long as the work was not perfectly digested in order.

Page 388, last line. Here ye see, all the Heads of the book of Policie were now agreed upon, except the head *de diaconatu*, which was also agreed upon by the most part of the Assemblie. Here also ye see Mr Patrick Adamsone one of the number, that is appointed to reason for the book of Policie; whereby ye may perceive that he assented with the rest.

Page 457, line 11, &c. *This gentleman, Esme Stewart, &c.*, and page 460, line 25, &c., *he had conference, &c.* (In the edit. 1678 :—)

Esme Stewart, stiled Monsieur d'Aubignie, son to John Stewart, brother to Matthew, Earle of Lennox, arrived at Leith upon the eight of September. It was thought, he was sent for by the band that assembled at Falkirk, and the Stewarts to be a head to them, and that the Guisians, in hope of their assistance, furthered him. The Duke of Guise accompanied him to his ship. He brought with him one Monsieur Mombirneau, a mirrie companion, able in bodie, and quick in spirit, a fit instrument to bewitch a young King. Monsieur d'Aubignie had conference with the Bishop of Glasgow, lying as Ambassador for the King's Mother at Paris, with the Bishop of Rosse, another traffiquer for her, and Sir James Balfour, before he came out of France, tending to these purposes, as was thought, to dissolve the amitie with England, by removing from the King such as were well affected that way; to procure an association betwixt the young King and his Mother in the government; to alter the estate of Religion by degrees. His

course and practices after confirmed the likelyhood of these intents and purposes. The opportunitie of the time was very fit; for such purposes might be more easily effectuated, when a young King of thirteen years of age governed, then before, when Regents and men of experience ruled. Not long after his arrival, he was made Commendator of Arbroath and Earle of Lennox; and Robert, Bishop of Cathness, the third brother to Matthew Earle of Lennox, Regent, was created Earle of March, in compensation of the Earledome of Lennox.

Page 469, line 8. *The Earl of Lennox his letter, &c.*

He had procured before a dispensation from the King, not to be troubled for Religion for a whole year, that he might pursue in judgment for the fruits and rents of Arbroath and Lennox; and vexed the Session and Eldership of Edinburgh, and the Synod of Lothian, with letters from the King for a *supersedere*, according to the dispensation granted to him. When he subscribed the Articles of Religion, and Communicated, little understood he what he heard. Notwithstanding of his subscription, he brought with him, and had in his company, Papists by profession, but indeed Atheists, which were intertained with him almost till his departure out of the countrey.

Page 470, line 24, *to the next Assembly.*

In that they condemned the office of a Bishop, as it was then used and commonly taken within this realme, they meant not to allow any other sort of Bishop, either *Anglicane* or *Romane*, but only the Divine or Apostolical Bishop, who is only a Pastor of a particular flock or congregation, as may be seen in the articles agreed upon 1575 and 1576 years, and in the Book of Policie. Yea, notwithstanding of the authority of the General Assembly above them, and the curbing of them in former Assemblies, for the restraining of the corruptions of that office, yet they think it not tolerable, but pulled it up by the roots. Whereas before they were required to submit themselves to the reformation of the cor-

ruptions in the estate of Bishops; now they are ordained to dimit *simpliciter*, quite and leave off the office, as an office whereunto they are not called by God, under the pain of excommunication.

Page 476, line 16, *the Assemblie appointed Visiters of several Provinces.*

Here ye see Visiters, notwithstanding of all the restrictions and caveats set down in the Assembly holden in Aprile 1576, and at other Assemblies, are rather tollerated than allowed.

Page 477, line 8, *to report to the next Generall Assemblie.* Ye see, private Baptisme and celebration of the Communion upon Pasch-day were judged corruptions.

Page 477. Mr P. Adamsone and Mr A. Melvine's Propositions. (In the Wodrow edition these Propositions are introduced under the year 1584: See vol. iv. pp. 55-60. In the edition 1678, they occur under 1580, with the addition of the following paragraph):

Here ye see, how far Mr Patrick Adamsone misliked the office of Visitators, and what was his judgment in foundamental points of the Policie, howsoever he inclined somewhat to Ministers voting in Parliament and Councel, where he had sometime place himself.

Page 501, line 18. Suppose Mortoun, a chief maintainer of religion, was put out, who will think that any thing was intended against Religion? for *the second Confession of Faith, commonly called the King's Confession, &c.*

Page 505-507. Observations upon the Confession of Faith: (In the edition 1678, we find added),—

This Confession is an appendix to the first Confession, and comprehendeth it in a general clause in the beginning; and so both are but one, and he that subscribeth the one, subscribeth the

other; and therefore our Confession of Faith is not wholly negative, but partly affirmative, partly negative.

Page 555, line 30. OBSERVATIONS ON THE BOOK OF DISCIPLINE, (1581.)

It is to be observed, that the eleventh chapter of the Book of Policie is not to be referred to this present year, but to the time that the Policie was in forming; for many abuses mentioned therein were reasoned since and before this year. It appeareth also, that this chapter crosseth the conclusions agreed upon by the Convention at Leith, whereof mention is also made in this chapter. And when in the twelfth chapter, they required, in the time of framing the Policie, that some may be appointed by the General Assemblie with consent of the Prince, best able to designe the place where particular Eldership, that is, Presbyteries, should conveen; ye may see that put in execution by the last Assembly. The eight, ninth, and twelfth chapters touch the disposition of the rents of the Kirk; but that disposition or dispensation was not plausible to such as possessed these rents: which no doubt was a chief impediment to the ratification of this Book of Policie. So that we may justly say, that the rents of the Kirk have been the occasion of much corruption in, and contention with the Kirk.

Same page. THE PRESBYTERIE OF EDINBURGH ERECTED.

The Presbyterie or Eldership of Edinburgh was erected upon the penult of May, consisting of fifteen or sixteen Ministers of the Kirks adjacent within four or five miles, and of some Barons and Gentlemen Elders out of every Church for that effect.

The Letter, whereof mention is made in the last Assemblie, sent by the King with William Cunninghame of Capringtoun, to be considered by the Assemblie, before it be directed to the Noblemen, Gentlemen and certain Ministers, was directed upon the last of May to the Lord Setoun, Lord Yesture, the Lairds Ormestoun and Elphingstoun, Mr James Carmichel, Mr Walter Hay,

Alexander Foster, or so many other Ministers, that were to make up the Presbytery of Hadintoun, or so many as were to conveen; wherein he directeth them to consider and try the ancient and present state of all the particular Kirks in their bounds, which of them are principal parish Kirks, which pendicles, which are standing and which decayed, and how many Parish Kirks it were requisite of necessity to have standing within the said bounds, and in what places, in consideration of the great number of Kirks alreadie decayed, and not well situat; having respect herewith, how a Minister may be well and honestly sustained at every Kirk, according to the rents of that Parish; and for the more certainty, that they try out as well the ancient, as present estate of the rentals of every Parish Kirk, both Parsonages and Vicarages, Pensioners and others; as also all Prebendaries, Chaplanries and Hospitals, and by whom, and by what title the rents thereof are now possessed; whether it be a Benefice of itself, or be a Kirk annexed to any Prelacie; and if the Kirk be set in tack, by whom, and for what maill and dutie. In this Letter have we these passages.

TRUST COUSIN AND WELL-BELOVED, We greet you heartily well. Upon Conference lately had, and consideration taken of some of our privie Councel and certaine of the Ministrie, by our direction and commandment, anent the action of the constitution of the Ecclesiastical Policie, so oft ettled unto, and yet unperformed, in the space of twenty years with the more now bypast, we have perceived, how this work hath been alwayes heretofore hindered, through the great and many troubles and alterations, which have occurred within our Realme, during that space, to the decay not only of the Ecclesiastical Discipline and of all good order within the Kirk; but to the great consumption and diminution also of the Kirk-rents by fews, tackes, pensions and other dispositions, practised and brought in use, as well by Bishops, Commendators, Ministers and Readers, lately provided to benefices, since our Coronation, as by others provided of old; besides many abuses daily creeping-in, &c. Besides, consideration being

taken of the unequal division of the Diocies, some being of so great and large bounds, as no one person is able conveniently to visite the Kirks thereof; neither are the Ministers in these bounds able to conveen so oft together in one place, as need requireth; some other Diocies of lesse bounds, containing fewer Parish Kirks, nor were requisite by a good order, neither these lying *contigue*. It is therefore thought impossible to attaine to any formal order, likely to have continuance to the posteritie, through our whole Realme, till the ancient bounds of the Diocies be dissolved, where the parishes are thick together, and small be united; and where they are of too great and large bounds, be divided, and thereafter Presbyteries or Eldersliips constituted for a dozen of parishes or thereabout, some moe, some fewer, as the commodity of the Countrey lyeth, where the Ministrie and Elders in these bounds conveening may commodiously exercise Ecclesiastical Discipline, and take order with the affairs of the Kirk, so far as shall be appointed, before the cognition thereof be brought to the Synodal Assembly. Therefore and to the effect, that this work now in hand may proceed the more formally, to the honour of God, and ease and commoditie of all good subjects, we have thought convenient, by advice of our Councel and such of the Ministers, as were here conveened, that ye, to whom we have directed this our Letter, or so many others, within the bounds of these parishes, contained in this forme sent you herewith, as ye finde good to call to your assistance therein, conveen together at Hadingtoun, how soon ye can, and there consult together, or then with common consent elect some fewer number amongst you of best zeal, judgement and experience, to consider and trie the ancient and present estate of all these particulars and parishes, in these bounds, &c.

In this Letter ye see, how forward the King was to constitute Presbyteries; and what necessity there was to constitute them; and thirdly that Presbyteries, at the first constitution or erection, consisted not only of Ministers, but also of those, whom we commonly call Elders.

Page 575. THE EARL OF MORTON EXECUTED.

The Earle of Mortoun was convicted by an assise, for concealing of the murther of the King's Father, upon the first of June. In his confession to the Ministers he declared, that there was danger in revealing it at that time. It was laid to his charge by the Ministers, that he was an authorizer of Bishops and of other corruptions. He answered, that concerning some things, which were in question between him and the Kirk, he protested, if there was any thing done amisse, it was of ignorance, and for lack of better knowledge; and if he had known better, he had done otherwayes, and was now at last of mind to have helped them so far as he might. It was marked, that he was execute upon that same day, that the Duke of Northfolk was execute, that is, the second day of June. Morton was a chief instrument of the depriving of the King's Mother of the government. Northfolk was working for her advancement to the one, and restauration to the other Crowne. He was a chief instrument to establish Religion, and entertained amitie betwixt England and Scotland; and was an enemie to the association of the King's Mother with the King in government; and therefore was much hated by the Guisians and their instruments. The Earle of Lennox got a great part of his lands. So long as Morton was in hands, the Kirk had rest: after his execution, great stirs were raised.

Page 716. *Mr Patrick Adamson, called commonly Bishop of St Andrews, &c.*

When the King cometh to St Andrews, he becometh a whole man, occupied the pulpit incontinent, declaimed before the King, against the Ministrie and the Lords, and their proceeding. He professed before, that he had not the gift of application, now he applieth, but inspired with another Spirit, then faithful Ministers use to be. In his Sermone he affirmed for certaine, that the Duke of Lennox died a Protestant, having in his hand a Scrol, which he called "The Duke's Testament." A merchant woman, sitting before the pulpit, and spying narrowly, affirmed that the

Scrol was a compt of four or five years old debt, which a few dayes before she had sent to him. It is true, the Duke refused to take the Sacrament out of a Priest's hand, when he was dying, but had received it before, as was reported, out of the Bishop of Glasgow's hand.

VOLUME FOURTH.

Page 18, line 18. The drift of this Proclamation was construed by the persons pursued, to be this, that they being once all removed, might be called home severally againe upon threescore dayes warning, and compearing in judgment, might be accused and punished at the discretion of the King Mother, or be forfaulted for their absence. Compare this Proclamation and others that went before, with the precedent words of the King's letter, given at St Andrews the second of July 1583, and sent to the Queen of England, as I finde it in the Note gatherer's notes.

Page 21, lines 3 to 7. The interprise at Ruthven was approved in as solemne a Convention of Estates, as was (Parliaments excepted) since the King's coronation. Yea the principal authors of the late alteration in St Andrews, being conveened with the rest at that time, namely, Montrose, Maxwell, Hereis, Ogilvie, Downe, and Newbattle were desired freely to reason in the matter, who, after they were solemnly attested by their oath, that they should reason and vote according to equitie and good conscience, also consented with the rest, without further contradiction. But after the alteration in St Andrews, the King, having his residence in winter at Halyrudhouse, did assemble a Convention of Estates, wherein the alteration at Ruthven was found to be treason, and such as were at it, appointed to take remission for the same, as a crime of *Læse Majestie* and hainous conspiracie. The King directed the Earl of Rothess, the Lairds of Capringtoun,

Colluthie, and Mungo Grahame to Perth, in commission to the Earl of Gowrie, to command him in the King's name to take a remission for that alteration at Ruthven, and to condemne the fact as treason: which he did. Notwithstanding of his remission, he was charged to passe out of Scotland. Now he condemneth *his condemning of the fact at Ruthven, &c.*

Page 56. (In the edit. 1678, the Propositions signed by Adamson and Melville are introduced under the year 1580: See *supra*, p. 33).

Page 79, line 2. *Arran and Colonell Stewart came diverse times to Edinburgh, to urge* the Council and Session of the Kirk to subscribe this letter. Some yeelded, some refused, and therefore were troubled for receiving, reading and concealing the letter, which the Ministers sent to the Councel and Session of Edinburgh, before the King and his Councel had seen it.

Page 149, line 11. *His uncle Mr Andrew, and Mr Patrick Forbes*, thereafter Bishop of Aberdeen, and a turn-coat, had entred in their journey towards London, two or three days before he came to Berwick. Mr James was desired by the exiled ministers to stay at Newcastle with the Lords. He set down the order and manner of exercise in Doctrine, Prayer and Discipline, which they practised, during the time of their remaining in England.

Page 459, line 3. *These Animadversions, &c.* (In place of this paragraph, in the edition 1678, there is substituted):—

The King receiveth these Animadversions, and taketh pains in his cabinet for the space of twenty-four hours, to penne the Declaration, which I have set down here word by word, notwithstanding of the harshness of some phrases. The bastard Declaration, whereof we have made mention before, and which was printed, was penned by Mr Patrick Adamsone; but the King disclaimed it.

Page 604-605. (In place of the full list of the names of the Subscribers to this Act, in 1586, in the edition 1678, only those who were survivors in 1631 are specially mentioned as follows) :—

Sic subscribitur, Mr John Knox, Moderator, Mr Andrew Clayhils, Minister at Jedburgh, and others to the number of thirtie; of which number, at this present year of God, 1631, are alive John Smith, Minister at Maxtoun; George Johnstoun, Minister at Ancrome; Mr William Meffan, Minister at Langtoun, now Minister at Foga; and Mr James Daes, Minister at Ettelstoun.

Page 606, line 2. *The King commanded the ministers, &c.* (In the edition 1678 this paragraph is altered as follows) :—

THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH COMMITTED TO BLACKNESS.

The Session of the Kirk of Edinburgh refusing to enjoine their Ministers to pray for the King's Mother, the King cometh to the great Kirk, and causeth Mr John Couper come down from the pulpit, when he was at the first prayer, that he might give place to the Bishop of St Andrews. Mr John said to the King, he would make account one day to the great Judge of the world for such dealing. When the Bishop went up to the pulpit, there riseth a murmuring and noise among the people, and many went forth. At this time the Ministers of Edinburgh were committed to ward in Blackness, for refusing to pray for the Queen Mother's delivery; whereupon it followed, that there was no preaching in any of the Kirks of Edinburgh upon the Lord's day, neither could the King move his own Ministers, Mr Craig or Mr Duncansone, to supplie their places. They refused not simply to pray for her; but for the preservation of her life, as if she had been innocent of the crimes laid to her charge, which had imported a condemnature of the Queen of England, and of her judges proceedings. She was execute in Fothringhame castle upon the eighth of Februar; and so this controversie, about the form of praying for her, ceased.

Page 635, line 20. *Mr Andrew Melville, perceiving how the Lord had wrought with him* (Mr Robert Bruce), *and how powerfull his doc-*

trine was, brought him over to this Assembly, and moved the Kirk of Edinburgh to suite for him. After he had essayed the burden, and found the blessing of God upon his travels, he accepted the charge; and was from that time forth a chief actor, in the affairs of the Kirk, and a constant maintainer of the established Discipline.

Page 695, line 5, &c. *Thus have ye the summe of that discourse which is made by Carletoun and Camdene, &c.* (This paragraph reads as follows) :—

The overthrow of the Spanish fleet, arrogantly called the Invincible Armado, in July and August, is set down, with all the circumstances of the preparation, and means of the overthrow, in Carletoun's Discourse, Camden's Annals, Stowe's Chronicle, and by others, to whom I refer the Reader desirous of particular information, seeing it is not my principal purpose to treat of such matters. It is true, the Spaniards carried a revengeful minde against the English, for dammages received by sea by Haukins, Drakes, and some others, and for aiding the Hollanders. But his chief desire was to conquer this Isle, partly for the worth of it, partly to be the more able to subdue the confederat Provinces of the Netherlands, and to secure the East and West Indies.

VOLUME FIFTH.

Pages 37-48, *The Act of Secret Council, &c.* (This Act is evidently misplaced here: in the edition 1678, it occurs in its right place, under the year 1589-90.)

Page 72, line 24. *Mr John Davidsone penned this letter following, &c.* (This paragraph reads as follows) :—

Master John Davidsone, at the desire of some brethren, penned a prolixe but pithy letter, to be directed to the Queen of England, containing an Apologie for our Kirk, against the calumnies of

Doctor Bancroft, uttered in sermon, the first Sabbath day after the beginning of the English Parliament, and after published in print. But it was not sent, nor delivered, as was intended; and therefore I have omitted it.

Page 88, line 32. (In place of the asterisks, the edition 1678 reads,) *by the Generall Assemblie;* or such as are nominat to enter.

Page 90, last line. *By warrant of this privilege*, the Confession of Faith, with two blank leaves following, to contain the names of the Subscribers; and the General Band, with other two blank leaves following, to contain the names of the Subscribers, together with the Act of Secret Councel containing the Commissions above written, were printed about the end of the same moneth of March, and after subscriptions were required. But in whose hands the copies are, with the names of the Subscribers, we know not, except some few.

This act of Councel abovewritten, was procured by the Generall Assemblie, which conveened at Edinburgh the third day of March. I have as yet seen no farther of the proceedings of this Assemblie, but this Minute following of the Acts concluded in it. (See the copy of this Minute at pages 86-88.)

Page 108, line 8, *accused openly in face of the whole Assemblie.*

Some Ministers that were at this Assemblie, notwithstanding of this Act, making defection afterward, either accepted Bishopricks, or aspired to the same, *videlicet*, Mr Neil Campbel, after Bishop of Argile; Mr Peter Bleckburne, after Bishop of Aberdeen; Mr George Gladstones, after Bishop of St Andrews; Mr James Nicolsone, after Bishop of Dunkelden; Mr William Couper, after Bishop of Galloway; Mr David Lindsey, after Bishop of Ross; Mr John Spotswode, Bishop of St Andrews; Mr Patrick Lindsey, Bishop of Ross; Mr George Graham, Bishop of Orknay; Mr Robert Pont, Mr Robert Cornwall, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Mr Archibald Moncreif, &c.

Page 162. The Parliament began upon Munday, the twenty-ninth of May. At this Parliament they obtained a Ratification of General and Synodal Assemblies, and Presbyteries, &c., for which they had laboured many years. Chancellour Maitlan was a chief Instrument in moving the King to passe it at this time; which he did to pleasure the Ministers offended at him for hounding out of Huntlie against the Earle of Murray, as was thought, because of the favour he carried to Bothuel. The tenor of the Act here followeth. THE RATIFICATION, &c. JUNE 1592.

Page 186, line 12. *And these things devised, &c.*
Master James Melvine and Mr James Nicolsone were appointed to put these overtures in forme.

By these overtures, the Reader may perceive how vigilant the Ministers were, and careful to suppresse and overthrow the plots and machinations of Papists, seeking the overthrow of Religion.

Page 235, line 3. The intention and purpose of the Conspirators is set forth in an Act of Councel, made at Halyrudhouse the fift of Januar, which is also registrat in the Acts of the General Assemblie, 1594.

Page 288. (Instead of lines 27 and 28, the edition 1678 has the following short paragraph):—

The godly were not content with the favour granted by this Act to the Excommunicat Earles. The Ministers and Barones, conveened apart in Mr Robert Bruce's galrie, desired Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Patrick Galloway, to crave, that their persons may be warded, before there were any further proceeding, or any favour granted unto them.

Page 313-15. *Remedies for the same.* THE KING'S ANSWERS.
(The Remedies and Answers are printed in parallel columns, in the edition 1678. In the Wodrow edition, it will be observed, that the King's Answers are given in a smaller type.)

Page 329, line 25, and p. 330, line 8. *Upon Tuesday, the penult of May, &c.* Upon the first day of the Parliament holden in June, after a short exhortation, &c.

Page 382, line 15. *The death of Chancellor Matlane.* (This paragraph is thus given in the edition 1678) :—

Upon the third of October, Sir John Maitlan Chancellour departed this life. His practices, at his first entrie to Court, were pernicious, and offensive to the Godly many years after; but in end he was careful to repair all wrongs, so far as he might, to keep peace betwixt the King and the Kirk. Yet it was thought by sundrie, that all the good he did, he did it to win the Ministrie, to strengthen himself against Bothuel. Howsoever it was, he granted before his departure, that he offended that man of God Master Knox, and wished he had built an Hospital, when he built his Castle at Lauder.

Page 461, line 29. SPOTSWOOD'S TREACHERIE.

The subscriptions of three or four hundreth Ministers were obtained in very short space, and moe had been obtained, if the Commissioners had continued still at Edinburgh. None so diligent, in outward appearance, to procure subscriptions to the Declinature, as Mr John Spotswood, afterward Bishop of St Andrews; and yet in the very meane time, as is constantly reported, he informed, or sent to the King, by a Courtier, informations of all the proceedings of the Councel of the Brethren, and other Ministers forward in the same cause.

Page 500, line 9. ALTERATION OF DISCIPLINE, WHEN INTENDED.

By this Missive, and sundrie other passages of this Historie, since August last, the Reader may perceive that the alteration of Discipline is not to be imputed to the tumult, which fell forth the seventeenth day following of this instant moneth of December; but was intended before, and questions framed for the purpose,

whereof we have made mention before; which we shall set down in a more proper place after, with answers to them. Who is so blinde that he may not perceive, that this alteration was intended, when the Ministrie was most earnest against the Excommunicat Earles, and that when they were pursuing hotest, they were forced to defend themselves?

Page 521, last line. *If it were found lawful, he should subscribe it.* I finde two different forms of the Bande; but I take this following to be the rightest, in respect of the Reasons penned at that time for answer to it. (See these on pages 522, &c.)

Pages 530, 538, and 560. (Three paragraphs on these pages seem to be condensed into one, as follows, from the edition 1678, p. 369):—

The Town of Edinburgh was threatned with removal of the Session and all Courts of Justice, for the uproar upon the 17. day of December, and to be exposed as a prey, and spoiled by Bordermen, and a number of Lords, with their dependers, convocat to terrifie the Citizens; but, after much examination and trial, there could not be found so much as one man guiltie of any conspiracie against either King or Counsellour; and it was evidently seen, that a false allarum was the occasion of the uproar: and this is sufficient to stop the mouthes of calumniators and traducers that would lay any such aspersion upon the Ministrie, or alledge it as the fruit of the Presbyterial Government, which then flourished. Yet, for farther satisfaction of the reader, I will here set down Mr Robert Bruce his own Apologie for himself and his Collegues, conform to that copie, which was written by Mr John Spotswode, afterward Bishop of St Andrews, his own hand; for he would seem so frank in the cause, that he would needs write it with his own hand, and give it a sharper edge. (See page 560.)

Page 584, line 24. *Upon the 29th of Februar*,—Upon the 21. of Februar.

Page 585, line 3. *The last of Februar*, 1596, after the new calculation 1597.

Page 594, line 12. *Brybing Lords of the Session* also. They meant this of Mr John Lindsay.

Page 597, line 5. *Mr Patrick Galloway, who would seem, &c.*

Mr Patrick Galloway made answers to the same Questions; but these I omit, and will adjoine the Answers only of another Brother more judicious, omitting the questions for eschewing repetition. (These Answers by Galloway are given at pages 597-599.)

Page 605, line 34. *I have thought good, &c.*

In all these Questions no hints of Bishops; yet had the King set down a catalogue of such as he would prefer to that dignitie, before Mr David Black was troubled.

Page 608, line 28. *And some hope of preferment.*

The discourse preceeding I have out of Mr James Melvin's Memorials. I will now follow the order set down in the Register of the Acts, howbeit not to be trusted unto: For, after that division and schisme entred in the Kirk, the acts and proceedings of Assemblies were framed as best might serve for advantage to the corrupt partie.

Page 614, line 11. *The Answers as they were altered, and are extant, &c.*

Howbeit these Answers were approved by the Assembly; yet were they after altered through pretended haste, and set down in the sixt Session, as followeth.

That it is lawful, &c. (See line 18.)

Page 624, line 11. *Appointed to be holden in Aprile.* To these reasons above set down I adde, that this meeting of Ministers, convocat at the King's command, cannot be reputed a General

Assemblie; because the General Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland should not consist only of Ministers, but also of Commissioners of burghes, and shires, and universities, chosen according to the order set down in the General Assemblie, holden in July 1565, which order was not abrogat as yet.

Page 628, line 24. *In a word, where Christ ruled before,* the Court now beginneth to govern. The King's man may stand at the King's chair, use what countenance, gesture, or language he pleaseth: But good men must be taunted, checked, &c.

Page 629, line 8. *After the Assemblie, &c.*

After the exhortation made by the last moderator Mr Robert Pont, and the choosing of Mr Thomas Nicolson to be Clerk, the Assembly was delayed, and the Commissioners wearied till the coming of Mr Robert Rollock, whom the King, and such as were to further his course, intended to have Moderator. He was a Godly man, but simple in the matters of the Church Government, credulous, easily led by counsel, and tutored in a manner by his old master, Mr Thomas Buchanan, who now was gained to the King's course. Many means were used to have him chosen; and the King and his followers prepared him for the purpose. *Sir Patrick Murray,* &c. (line 20.)

Page 647, line 5. THE CORRUPT CONCLUSIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

In this corrupt Assemblie, we see the libertie of application and free rebuke of sinne restrained, matters of great importance committed to some few Ministers seeking preferment; howbeit Mr James Melvine be numbered among them for the fashion. Summar excommunication for notorious crimes is suspended, and in effect abolished. All conventions of Pastors, not authorized by the King's Lawes, discharged. The Popish Earles remitted to the fulfilling of certain conditions, prescribed for absolution and reconciliation, &c. It was an easie matter to draw such, as

thirsted for gain and glorie to further the intentions of the Court. All ecclesiastical matters, which were to be treated in General Assemblies were from henceforth first prepared and dressed at Court by the King, and some selected Commissioners out of that number, and after concluded in full Assemblies. Whereas, before, after earnest prayer, searching the Scripture, powerful exhortations, grave reasoning, and mature consultation, matters of importance were determined by uniforme consent of the whole, for the most part. So they were the King's led horse. It was, as is reported, Mr John Lindsey's advice, some say, Mr Thomas Hammilton's (then Advocat) given to the King, to divide the Ministers, or other wayes he could not overthrow them.

Page 648, line 5. *Mr Robert Wallace, minister of St Andrews,* declined the King's Commissioners conveened at Falkland, alledging they had no commission to cognosce upon the Secretar's complaint against him: because he had offered before the Assemblie to satisfie any, that was offended with his doctrine; specially the Secretar, so far as was possible without prejudice to the credite of his ministric, and losse of a good conscience; and no commission was granted to take any farther trial in that matter. He had in sermon threatned the examiners of the witnesses, in Mr David Black's action, of which number Mr John Lindsey was principal. I have no farther knowledge of this matter for the present.

Mr John Lindsay was again stirred up to prosecute, &c. (page 649.)

Page 650, line 19-27. Mr Robert Rollock, Moderator of the last Assemblie, and consequently of these meetings of the Commissioners with the King, bewrayed great weakness, which many, that loved him before, construed to be simplicitie.

Page 673, line 9. Many fair pretences in this Letter, and much dissimulation; but the event proved, they had no sincere meaning in their proceedings. For this vote in Parliament was the foundation of their Episcopacie, to the which they were aspiring; and

the King and they were contriving the means. They have given proof alreadie, what the Kirk may look for at their hands, both by their dealing in the two Assemblies by-past, as also in execution of their procured Commission, when they reposed Mr John Rutherfurde, and removed Mr David Black and Mr Robert Wallas, &c.

Page 693, last paragraph. THE INTENT OF THE COMMISSION.

This woful Commission was obtained, before the chief question was proponed, concerning the Vote of the Kirk in Parliament, which otherwayes had not been so easily granted. The chief end of it was to put in execution the Articles concluded at Perth, and explained in the former Assemblie holden at Dundie, to trouble zealous ministers that were faithful in application of their doctrine, and to plant Burrowes Townes; that so the way might be the better prepared by removing, or holding out the worthiest out of the most eminent places, and by suppressing of any clear discovery in pulpit of the present corruptions.

The chief end wherefore this Assemblie was convocat, was to obtain the consent of the Assembly to Ministers Vote in Parliament: *Howbeit they had spent hitherto a whole week, &c.* (line 31.)

Page 701, lines 9 to 19. *The King and Commissioners, &c.* WHEREFORE THE REST OF THE POINTS WERE CONTINUED.

The King, and such as aspired to Prelacies, purposed to passe through many points, and devised some caveats for ranging the Voter in Parliament in order, and to keep him free of Popish and Anglican corruption, that he might be the more easily imbraced. But when the Caveats were read, they perceived, that many brethren, who assented to the maine point, began to skarre: Therefore they were content at this time with the number of the Voters, and referred the manner of election, the Cautions and other points to another time. Here ye may observe, that Mr Andrew Melvine and other Professors were allowed to conveen with the Commissioners of Synods, and to reason upon the rest of the

points. But this was denied to them, till the maine pointe was past. Next, this libertie is allowed to them only at a meeting, which shall not have power to conclude, but in the case of agreement and uniformitie of opinions. And the event proved, that that meeting was only to trie the force of the reasons, that were to be used by the sincerer sort, that the dint of them might be avoided in the Assemblie following, where these points were to be concluded.

Page 744, line 9. *In the same month of September, &c.* In the month of October, certain passages drawn out of the King's book, entituled *Basilicon Doron*, were given in to the Synod of Fife, whereby the King's minde in matters of the Kirk was clearly discovered. As that paritie among Ministers cannot agree with a Monarchie. Without Bishops the three Estates in Parliament cannot be established. The Ministers sought to establish a Democracie in the land, and to bear the sway of all the Government, that by time they think to draw the Policie and Civil Government, by the example of the Ecclesiastical, to the same paritie. That no man is to be hated more of a King, then a proud Puritan. That the chief of them are not to be suffered to brook the Land, &c. The Reader may peruse the Book itself. There were few copies of the first impression, and these few were committed to some few. Yet a Minister in Fife came to the sight of one of them. Mr John Dykes Minister at Kilrinnie was suspected to be the giver-in of these extracted passages. The King, knowing that none durst exhibite the Book it self, sent Mr Francis Bothuel to apprehend him: but he escaped.

Page 771, line 6. *It was appointed, that the year should begin the first day of Januar, which heretofore began the twenty-fifth of March.* Which account we have keeped from the beginning of this Historie.

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Page 59, line 10. *This occasion* (of the Gowrye Conspiracy) *was gripped at, &c.*

This occasion was laid hold on to overthrow the Ministrie of Edinburgh, which crossed the proceedings of the Court, and was a great restraint to impietie and injustice in the Countrey, and an opposition to the Episcopal Course. So the King and Council deprived them of the exercise of their Ministrie within the Countrey, by their own authoritie, without consent of the Kirk, and before any Civil and formal trial of the fact.

The Discoverie of the alledged Attempt came forth in print; which, because it is yet extant, and was translated in Latine, I omit, and what was men's judgements of it, as not pertinent to my present aime.

Page 161, line 4, *General Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland;* and that their meeting in this place be not prejudicial to the liberties of the Kirk, in appointing and keeping the diets of their meeting, conform to the Acts of Parliament. He would not give his Vote till the Clerk wrot his Protestation: yet it is not extant in the Register. Mr Patrick Galloway, the King's Minister, by pluralitie of votes was chosen Moderator. *The Assessors, &c.* (line 5.)

Page 173, line 17, (as third paragraph.)

How this order of Visitation was neglected, and the Commission to Visite abused, by some of the Visiters aspiring to Prelacies, shall be made manifest in the progresse of the storie.

Page 176, No. 11. Answered *in the Assemblie.*

Page 179, last line. *We find here some nominated, &c.* Many

are named here for the fashion, who were never minded to accept the title of any Prelacie.

Page 186, (third paragraph.) At this Assemblie Mr John Spotswood, thereafter Bishop of St Andrews, was delated for being present at Masse, when he was at France with the Duke of Lennox. He was removed, notwithstanding of the opposition of the King, and some Ministers. Many voting that he should be suspended, or deposed. The King and Commissioners packed it up.

This writ was cast by, and no audience given to it. It was, in effect, an indirect protestation against the thraldome of the Assemblie. If any zealous Minister was to utter his minde, the King would boast or taunt; or his Minister, Mr Patrick [Galloway], Moderator, an arrogant *Ignavo*, would imperiouslie command him silence. Mrs Robert Bruce, Andrew Melvine, John Davidson, men of great authoritie and credite in the Kirk, were withholden from this Assemblie: and therefore no wonder matters went as they did.

Pages 202, 203. Mr R. Bruce's Place declared Vacant.

The Commissioners of the General Assemblie, meeting the 25. of Februar, without citation preceeding, declared Mr Robert Bruce his place to be vacant, and that they had found, that his not re-entrie to his Ministrie in Edinburgh was through his own default. Whether it was through his own default or not, the Reader may judge by that which hath alreadie been said. It appeared never to have been their minde, that he should be settled again in his Ministrie, in Edinburgh; for they understood very well, that he was a faithful watchman, and, standing in the chief watch-tower, would give warning to all the Professors of whatsoever danger imminent, or corruptions entering in the Kirk; and specially of the Episcopacie, which they were advancing so farre, and as fast as they might. And, indeed, if he had been re-established in his Ministrie in Edinburgh, by all appearance, they had never attained to their purpose; for he was weightie and powerfull to work detestation in the hearts of the people of any corruption

that was entering; and was throughly set against this woful Hierarchie, as the bane of religion. Sir Patrick Murray was to be sent to the Council of Edinburgh, to seek a ratification of this Act. Whereupon Mr Robert, upon the tenth of March, directed this letter abovewritten to them; but these that favoured him thought it not expedient, that it should be presented; because the contents would come to the King's eares, and would disturb the peace alreadie transacted betwixt the King and the Town-Council. They had been threatned with letters of horning, to ratifie the decreet of the Commissioners. But Mr John Hall, a gracious Court-Minister, at their request, diverted the King from that course.

Page 205. SIR JOHN KER ABSOLVED BY THE COMMISSIONERS.

At the same very diet, that the Commissioners of the General Assemblie had declared Mr Robert Bruce's place in Edinburgh to be vacant, they ordained (the King himself being present) Sir John Ker of Littledane, an adulterer, his wife yet living, to adhere to Dame Margaret Whytlaw, an adulteresse, her husband, the Laird of Innerwicke, yet living; approved her marriage, notwithstanding that he had committed adulterie with her before, ordaineth them to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication, which was pronounced by the Ministers of the South. So well did their proceedings agree with other, and so like were they unto themselves. But the Lord justified the proceedings of the Ministers of the South: for she ended her life with great torment, and in great miserie; and he himself died after, little better than a beggar, his living being all wasted and consumed.

Page 215, line 11. *Notwithstanding of his great and unexpected preferment.* No favour without acknowledgment of an offence, where there was none.

Page 223, line 13 to 18. *The jayler by the way, &c.* So Mr Andrew Melvine and Mr John Davidson were left confined, and Mr Robert Bruce excluded from his Ministrie in Edinburgh. Whereas the

goales, by the way to London, were made open, as he passed alongs, and the prisoners set at Libertie.

The King made his entrie in London, upon the seventh of May. The solemnities used, and the Oration had by the Recorder, I passe by, as not material for the scope of this storie.

Page 246, last paragraph. *This copie corrected by the King is slender enough, yett different from the Narratioun extant in print.* (Altered as follows.) This Reformation, as it is here set down, is farre different from that, which is set down by Barlo; and no way is such, as the sincere Professors of England expected. *Mr James Melvill was, &c.*

Page 248, line 3. The Presbyterie of Edinburgh had written to Mr Patrick Galloway to intreat the King for a General Assemblie. After sundrie delaying answers, he promised to come down to that end, (for he was Moderator of the last); but when he came, no such effect followed.

Page 259, line 6, *the 24th of Aprile* 1604—April 14, 1604.

Page 263, line 14, *granted for the Union:* but it is not extant among the printed Acts; and perhaps this clause is not insert, as it was agreed unto.

Page 268. THE PRESBYTERIE OF ST ANDREWS SUBSCRIBE THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

The whole Brethren of the Presbyterie of St Andrews subscribed the Confession of Faith upon the second of August, as the Act following declareth:—

At St Andrews, the second of August 1604.

The which day, after calling on the name of God, the whole Brethren being lawfully convecned, the Confession of Faith, authorized in the Kirk of Scotland, was publickly read in audience

of all, together with the Act of Parliament holden at Edinburgh, *anno* 1592, for explanation of the present Discipline, generally authorized in the said Confession of Faith, which by the foresaid Act of Parliament is ratified and confirmed, namely, in the Liberties of the General Assemblies once every year, Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions of particular Kirks; derogating from all Acts made of before in prejudice of the same, and declaring the present Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, and approved in the Act foresaid, to be only godly, just, and lawful in all times coming, as is at more length contained in the Act of Parliament foresaid; which Act and Confession, being ripely considered and advised, was publickly subscribed, with uniform consent of the whole Brethren, to testifie their harmonie and heartie agreement in all things, both concerning Doctrine and Discipline, promising solemnely to defend the samine alwayes, according to their callings, and never to come in the contrair, according to the great oath set down in the foresaid Confession of Faith. In witness whereof, first the Moderator subscribed, then Mr George Gladstones, Minister at St Andrews, Mr Robert Wilkie, Rector; and so every one, as they sate in their places, subscribed particularly with all the Brethrens hands.

Page 273, last 3 lines. *Upon the Lord's day, the* 15*th of December, Mr John Spotswood, Bishop of Glasgow, returning from Court, road out of Hadinton when the people were going to the forenoon sermon.* (This paragraph is thus altered):

Mr John Spotswood carried the Synod of Lothian's Letter to Court, wherein the Ministrie of that Synod supplicated for a Generall Assemblie; but it was not granted. Returning from Court, he rideth out of Hadintoun when the people were repairing to the Kirk to hear Sermon upon the Lord's day. And it was alwayes the custome of this profane Bishop, to crosse the ferries, or to ride upon the Lord's day, in time of Sermon.

Page 278, line 21. The King's Commission, &c.

Mention being made at this Synod of this General Assemblie, Laurestoun, the King's Commissioner, being now returned from Court, and there present, opponed with all his might; and shewed that he had an expresse Article in his Commission not to suffer it. It was desired, that the time and place only might be appointed, how short or long soever, that the Kirk might be put out of suspicion and jealousie of losing for ever the libertie to indict, and hold General Assemblies: but it could not be granted.

Page 296, last paragraph. THE ABBOT OF NEWABBAY WARDED.

About the end of August, Mr Gilbert Broun, Abbot of New-abbay, was apprehended about New-abbay by William Lord Cranstoun, Captain of the guard appointed for the Borders, not without great danger, the Countrey people rising to rescue him out of his hands. The people interpreted this to have been done, that they should not apprehend any intention of alteration of Religion, notwithstanding that Ministers were troubled. He was sent to Blackness, and, after two or three days, was transported to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he was intertained upon the King's expenses, till his departure out of the Countrey. So this traffick-ing and seducing Papist obtained more favour than the Ministers imprisoned.

Page 297, last paragraph, and Melville's Apologie, p. 298-322, (thus briefly mentioned):—

Whereupon Mr James Melvine made a large Apologie for the imprisoned Brethren, which I omit, because the imprisoned made use of it, not only in their Apologie which they wrote to the King in the beginning of September, and sent to Mr John Hall,—no good friend to them, when he went up to Court; but also in the reasons or defence of their Declinature, where we shall have the substance of his Apologie.

Page 354, line 17, *when the King and Estates sould be conveened in it.* I referre the Reader to the English Histories, for a full

information of this Treason, commonly called the Pouder Treason. *The deliverance from the Conspiracie, &c.*, (page 367.)

Page 491, after the name of the Ministers, is added:—

Three of this number, to wit, Mr Adam Bannatine, Mr William Couper, and Mr John Abernethie, within few years after the subscribing of this Protestation, accepted Bishopricks in their own persons, whom we shall remember after severally in their own places.

Page 498, last paragraph. At this Parliament was granted a Taxation of four hundreth thousand Merks. None so readie to grant, as the new Bishops, the King's creatures.

Pages 500-534. *Follows the verification, &c.* The verification of the points, offered to be proved in the Protestation abovewritten, is extant in the book alreadie printed, entituled, "The Course of Conformitie." And therefore I will contract it, keeping the substance.

Page 534. Whether this Verification penned by Mr James Melvine, for proof of that which was undertaken in the Protestation, may be rightly called a Verification, experience shortly thereafter made it manifest.

Page 591. *Upon Tuisday, the fourth of November, &c.* Upon the fourth of November, Mr William Scot and Mr John Carmichael went to Westminster, and conferred with Mr James Nicolson, whom they found to be a man far changed, and resolved to accept the Bishoprick of Dunkelden, bought to him by the King from Mr Peter Rollock for twenty thousand pounds. They delivered to him their answers to the three Articles, and with all their Grievance, which the King desired them to give-up. They agreed in substance; howbeit some were more ample than others. *Mr James Melvill's answers, &c.*

Page 592. MR WILLIAM SCOT HIS ANSWER TO THREE ARTICLES, WRITTEN BY HIS MAJ. COUNCEL, AND DELIVERED TO HIM BY MR ALEXANDER HAY, 2. OCTOBER, 1606.

For asmuch as it hath pleased your Lordships to demand me, a simple Minister, and one of his Maj. meanest Subjects, of a special dutie done to God in the obedience of Faith, and to his children in the band of Brother hood; and one of the highest Secrets of his Maj. Crown, matters as in themselves most weightie, so in down-setting skilfully convoyed. Albeit it be of verity, that of reason, equitie and order, usually observed within his Maj. Kingdom of North Britain, doubtsome Articles of great importance have been, and should be proponed to a godly and wise Parliament, and to a grave and learned Assembly of the Kirk *respective*, there gravely to be treated, reasoned and concluded; and not to a simple man or single subject, separat from assistance and commodious means, with his inevitable hurt, to be obscured. Not the lesse fearing to be esteemed drigh, nice, or in any way wanting due regard to your Lordship's pleasure; and still reposing upon his Maj. missive, and Gracious favour, his Royal intention, and professed Affection to the peace of the Kirk, and Ministrie thereof; and your Lordship's declaration in Council, to wit, that I am called before your Lordships in favourable manner, and not *super crimine, aut inquirendis; nec animo tentandi;* and that no Accusation, Action of Law, nor danger whatsomever, should be moved against me, upon my speeches off hand and simply uttered, at your Lordship's Command, and in your presence; or answers set down in writ to your Lordship's Articles at your desire. As I understand them, I adventure humbly to answer, beseeching herefore, that it would please your Lordships to grant me your favourable interpretation, and charitable construction of these Answers, which for the present I can give and leave, that, as it shall please God to inform my judgement better, I may amend them accordingly.

To the *First* I answer, that being a disposer of the Secrets of

God, and long before my Brethren went to Ward, in a special manner oblidged to some of them, for mutual remembrance in prayer, and knowing them to be of the houshold of Faith, and no reason, nor law in the contrair, as I understood their case, in a single heart and Christian charitie, I called to God for them accordingly, never having intention nor purpose (as knoweth the righteous Judge, unto whose eyes all things are naked and open) to transgresse my dutie to the meanest member of the fellowship of faith, farre lesse to his most excellent Maj. neither know I by myself, wherein I have transgressed, in praying for them, otherwise then by infirmity, wants, and other parts of imperfection, common to Christians in Spiritual works, during their life here; seeing God hath commanded his children to pray for all Saints, and each one for another, in whatsoever case they be: Yea not only for them that love us, but also for them that hurt, persecute and curse us, excepting them allanerly that sinne unto the death; Eph. vi. 18; James v. 16; Heb. xiii. 3; Mat. v. 44; 1 John v. 16. And yet I presume not by myself to justifie my own actions; but most willingly leaves place to lawfull trial, and more wise and indifferent judgement in such cases. Being as ready at all times to be in his Maj. favour, as loath at any time to commit whatsoever may justly avert the same.

To the *Second* I answer, *first*, that the prerogative of his Maj. Authoitie Royal, is so far above my reach, that I neither dare, nor, as I understand, is it lawfull for me by my privat motion, to set down what Power his Maj. hath over the Assemblies of the Kirk thereby; but I most heartily and humbly acknowledge, that his Maj. hath as lawful and full power in every respect, as the Word of God giveth to any King or Monarch under heaven. And touching the Convocation, Prorogation, or Alteration of the diets of the Assemblies whatsoever, it is evident by the Acts of the Kirk after following, that his Maj. and the General Assembly have power of the samine, viz., in the General Assemblie holden at Glasgow 24. April 1581. Wherein his Maj. Commissioners were present, after long deliberation in former Assemblies, it was

reasoned, voted, concluded and enacted, That all the Ecclesiastical Assemblies have power to conveen lawfully together, for treating of things concerning the Kirk, and pertaining to their charge; as also to appoint times and places to that effect, and one Assemblie to appoint the diet, time and place for another: Which Act, as I understand, is not abrogat, but rather by his Maj. Law, and continual practice of the Kirk, within his Highness Kingdom of North-Britain, confirmed; which usually hath prevented, prorogat or appointed the diets of Assemblies, as the expediencie of the affairs of the Kirk required, and judged anent alterations as they fell out, as at Edinburgh, 2. July 1591, at Dundie, 10. May 1597, at Halyrudhouse, 10. November 1602. Item, in the Article, proponed by his Maj. Commissioners to the Assembly at Perth, 1. *Martij* 1596, bearing, that no Meeting nor Convention be among the Pastors, without his Maj. knowledge and consent, there is a special exception made of their ordinarie Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods: and in the answer of that Assembly thereunto, there is added, their meetings in Visitations of Kirks, Admission and Deprivation of Ministers, taking up of feods, and such others as have not been found fault with by his Maj. And in the General Assembly thereafter at Dundie, it is extended to all and whatsomever form, either of Special, or General Assemblies, authorised by his Maj. Law, as they have warrant in the Word of God, as being the most authentic form of consent that any King can give; whereby it is clear, what order and custome, anent the diets of Assemblies, is. *Secondly*, if the Article mean any innovation or alteration of the foresaid order and practice, or any part thereof, in that case, in the General Assemblie at Perth, 1. *Martij* 1596, it is agreed upon betwixt his Maj. and the General Assembly, anent points his Highness desires to be dissolved or reformed, that it is lawful to himself, or his Highness Commissioners, to propone them in a General Assembly, providing it be done in right time and place, *animo ædificandi, non tentandi*. *Thirdly*, this Article in effect being first moved among the rest of his Maj. printed Questions to the Gene-

ral Assembly at Perth, was remitted to be advised by certain Commissioners against the Assembly immediately following at Dundie, where it received no particular answer, neither hath since. And now lately being proponed to the Synod of Fife, whereof I am a member, for weightie causes, it was referred to the General Assemblie, whereunto properly the decision thereof belongeth. In respect of the premisses, it were presumption, folly and iniquitie in me to answer any otherwise, anent this Article, then the Kirk has done.

To the *Third* I answer, *first*, that the order anent Citation of parties, Cognition of causes, and giving of Sentences in offences, usually judged within his Maj. Kingdom of North Britain, by the Civil and Criminal Judges, viz., Parliament, Justices, Commissars, Sheriffs, Stewarts, &c. what jurisdiction, or limitation of jurisdiction: who are judges competent to every cause: If *forum reï* should be keeped, or what power they have respectively, to Advocat or Repledge causes or suspend Decreets; or if his Maj. and Councel be judges competent to all offences; belongeth neither to me, nor to my calling to determine. But concerning some sort of offences, Christ has commanded to tell the Kirk, whereunto he has promised, that whatsoever they shall binde on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever they shall loose in Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven: which Scripture, by soundest judgments, is exponed of the Councels of the Kirk.

Page 592, second last line. *The caus wherefore, &c.*

They gave in their answers and their grievances the sooner, because it was pretended that they were detained, because they had not given them in; and before Mr James Nicolson, the chief deviser of plots in Kirk-matters, depart from the Court; for he was to be sent home, to direct Linlithgow Convention. But they were detained still notwithstanding, till, in their absence, some advantage were gotten for the course of Episcopacie.

Page 606, line 22. *Yitt manie of the ministrie fearing the evill,*

as Mr Adam Bannatyne, Mr Archibald Simsone, and others, were minded to give in a Protestation against it: Which, when the Bishops, &c., many feared, &c.

Many feared the evil of this meeting, and that it would be maintained after to be an Assembly; whereupon some minded to give-in a Protestation, of which number was Mr Adam Bellenden, afterward Bishop of Dumblane. Which when the Bishops understood, they caused them to be cited before the Councel. There they were exhorted to desist, till they saw if any thing were done in prejudice of the Kirk; and in that case, the Bishops assured them they should protest against it as well as they. But it was never their minde to interpret any thing to be done in prejudice of the Kirk, that served for the advancement of their course; so there was no more noise of a Protestation at that meeting.

Pages 624 to 627. (This long paragraph is a different version, although much the same in substance in both copies.)

This Act contrived in this form hath sundrie clauses and words insert, which were never mentioned at the Convention; as for example, that Bishops should be Moderators of Provincial Assemblies; that the Moderators of Presbyteries should be constant members of the General Assembly. Here the Bishops promise to usurp no tyrannous and unlawful jurisdiction. The Pope will professe that much, in words. But the meaning of the Brethren, proponers of the danger feared, was, that they should usurp no farther power, nor was granted in the Caveats set down before, and at this Meeting. And in the end of this Act they professe, that it is their intention and purpose to be subject to the Acts and Caveats of the General Assembly: Yet they think the Caveats strait, and would have a relaxation, which bewrayeth their intention was not good. The Moderators were first chosen to be Agents against Papists, that under colour they might have their pension of an hundreth pounds yearly. So the pension assigned to the Agent, was devised to corrupt the Moderator, who was to be the Agent. The office of an Agent and Moderator could not

conveniently be in the person of one man. For the Office of the Agent withdraweth him from Moderation, and forceth him to attend oft upon the Councel. And therefore, both the Offices should not have been laid upon one man, if there had been sincere dealing. They appoint their Moderators not only to be perpetual, which was against the Order established before, that they should continue only from Synod to Synod, for eschewing of tyrannie; but also nominat the persons, which they acknowledge to belong to the Presbyteries. Every Presbyterie is best acquaint with the qualification of their own members. The Ministers of the North cannot choose the fittest persons to be Moderators in the Presbyteries of the South, *et contra*. The persons who were nominat were almost all present, and made no opposition after they were appointed to be Agents, and had an hundreth pounds assigned to them. Some few others were nominated for the fashion, who were absent, and who never accepted that Charge. It was never heard in our Kirk, that the changing of the Moderator every half-year was the occasion of any jarres, either among the Ministerie, or between the King and the Ministrie. That which never was is now pretended, to the end that, the Moderators being constant and perpetual, the Bishops might work upon them, and by them corrupt and pervert the Presbyteries. That the persons nominated should be charged with Letters of Horning, if need were, to accept the Charge, was not the meaning nor intention of that Convention; for it was not acknowledged to be an Assembly during the time of their sitting. The Bishops professed at this Assembly they intended not to ingyre themselves in any part of the Government of the Kirk, farther then should be committed to them by the Presbyteries, Provincial and General Assemblies, and to be subject to the Censures of the Kirk in case they be found to do in the contrair. How well they have observed this, the world may bear witness. Here they promise to make residence within their Diocie; and so, under colour of this meeting, which had not power to loose, and transport them, they deserted their Flocks. A shew was made of dealing for the Brethren ba-

nished, confined, and warded; but no effect followed. Yea, in effect, by this Act the banished Brethren were condemned, while, as it is craved, that they confesse an offence whereunto the eight Ministers at Court would not condescend. But this, and other like matters, past without voting. Here the necessitie of a Generall Assemblie was acknowledged, and it was declared that it was his Maj. will, that the Assembly should hold the last Tuesday of July, seeing the Act of Parliament doth still stand in full force for conveening of the said Assemblies once in the year; yet how this was practised, the following Historie will make manifest. What purpose could there be to work peace at this Assembly, that nominats in the missives to the Presbyteries, men of meanest gifts, such as James Reid, in the Presbyterie of Hadintoun; old Mr James Betoun, in the Presbyterie of Kelso; Mr John Aikman, and Mr John Dalzel, in Galloway; Mr Andrew Mitchel, in Fife; Mr Andrew Forrester, in Dumfermline Presbyterie, and the like in other Presbyteries, where they could not finde men of gifts pliable to their purpose. The Ministers there conveened, some few excepted, either had no Commissions from their Presbyteries, or only a permission or commission conform to the intent of the Missive, which do not import the holding of an Assembly, but rather that this meeting was to be a preparative for an Assembly. Neither could any Commission be valid without formal indiction preceeding; that all Presbyteries might be forewarned.

Page 630, last paragraph. *Upon the first of Januar.*—Upon the fifth of Januar.

Pages 638 to 641. Upon the eight of March Mrs James Melvine, James Balfour, William Scot, Robert Wallace, Adam Colt, William Watson, gave in a supplication to the Councel of England. Mr John Carmichael had obtained licence to returne home; because his wife was in danger of her life. In their Supplication, &c.

Page 667. Mr Patrick Galloway, &c.

The corrupter sort of the Commissioners of the General Assembly, of which number some were Bishops, under the colour of a Commission granted *anno* 1602. Which was but temporarie, and to endure only till the next General Assembly, continued notwithstanding of the last Convention, holden at Linlithgow, which they alledged to have been a free General Assembly; and exerce the points of an old Commission, as they thought good. They conveened at Halyrudhouse about the end of June, and appointed Mr Patrick Galloway to be a Minister of Edinburgh, before they make the Presbytery acquaint with their proceedings. Alwayes we see how the Kirk was abused by these Commissioners, usurping power when their Commission was expired.

Page 668, line 4. *Were content to underly farther punishment.* Mr Charles Ferholme and Mr John Munro were detained still in their wards.

Page 672, line 16. *For he hath made no scruple to accept upon him the Bishoprick of Brechin, &c.*

For he made no scruple to accept the Bishoprick of Brechen some years after. Mr James [Nicolson] departed this life upon the 16. or 17. of August, the time appointed for the meeting of the Commissioners from Synods, where he should have been present, to advance all his devices.

Page 680, line 17. *Without appointing any new dyet, and wanting a Moderator.* None of the Moderators of the Presbyteries, within this Synod, was provided to the title of any Bishoprick, and so none, styled a Bishop, could be obtruded upon the Synod by vertue of the Act of Linlithgow. Yet they refuse to be tyed to any of the Moderators of the Presbyteries; and for once choose Mr Patrick [Galloway], the King's own man, thinking that would satisfie the King, and not prejudge their libertie.

Page 681, line 27. *To accept of men again their Moderators.*

By the proceedings this year the Reader may perceive, what stirr was made about the constant Moderators of Presbyteries and Synods. That which was pretended to be a mean to procure peace and quietness to the Kirk, was rather a mean to work disturbance; for judicious men perceived, what inconvenience would follow upon the perpetual moderation of Bishops in Synods, and of Ministers in Presbyteries, men for the most part corrupt, and chosen for the purpose, at Linlithgow.

Page 684, line 9. *The fairest pretence, &c.* [In place of this paragraph, after an abstract of the King's letter, 18th October 1607, the following remarks are added:—]

For the *first* alleged reason, it may be answered, That the meeting of the Commissioners from Synods was appointed to be holden the 27. of August, and by reason of Mr James Nicolson's death was continued till September. That the Synods sent not Commissioners, because they were dissolved abruptly, or otherwise disturbed, with obtruding the constant Moderator, and feared the successe of such a meeting. As for the *second* alledged reason, The place might have been changed. For the *third*, The General Assembly ought not to have been hindered, which was acknowledged at the Convention of Linlithgow to be so needful, for the negligence of some visiters. Next, their Commission of Visitation expired, if not at the Assembly holden at Aberdeen, as reason requireth; yet at least at the last Convention of Linlithgow, which they themselves bear out as a lawful General Assembly. But the truth is, some of these Visiters had gotten Bishopricks, and, under colour of Visitation, were to procure among the Presbyteries such Commissioners to the next General Assembly as would not oppone to their course; and to settle constant Moderators, where they were not yet received, as the Reader shall see in the progresse of this Historie. In the mean time, ye see, no new diet appointed for meeting of Commissioners from Synods, to the effect that all things may be dutifully prepared

for the Assembly, as was pretended before. The alledged reason was, that the last prorogation and continuation having proceeded upon a godly course and resolution, intended by his Majestie, by directing of the Commissioners nominated by the General Assembly, with his Majestie's consent, to have visited the whole Presbyteries, and particular Congregations within the kingdom, the said Visiters, in respect of the long and great storm, and unseasonable time of the year, had received no effect nor execution; and it was most necessare and expedient that this Visitation should yet proceed. Next, that his Majestie was minded, if the necessitie of other weightie affairs impeached him not, to honour this his native Countrey with his own presence, this year, to be present at the said Assembly, and by his Royal Authoritie to settle the present jarres and difference of the Kirk. Many of the Visiters, now styled Bishops, must have more leasure and time to work in their Circuits, to win friends, to procure Commissioners, and to settle constant Moderators.

Page 688, line 16. *Gave a warrant for that effect.* This was another mean, by which many of the Ministry were forced to give way to their course; namely, such as cared more for their belly, then for a good conscience.

Page 752, line 6. *The members of the Privie Conference were those of the worst sort.* The assessors, nominated by the Moderator himself, and appointed to conveen with him in the privy conference, for treating of such things as were to be concluded in the Assembly, were these, &c. [see their names at page 757.]

Here we may see by the persons nominated, to what a weak estate or thraldome our Kirk was redacted, when such worthies, as wont to be upon the Privy Conference, are now detained in ward, or confined, and can have no accesse to the Assembly, to direct by their advice, or to resist any corrupt course. The Bishops had provided well for their own places, in that respect.

VOLUME SEVENTH.

Page 54. SPOTSWOOD AN EXTRAORDINARY LORD OF THE SESSION. *But it was clearly seen the nert moneth, what this matter meant: for the Bishop of Glasgow, Mr John Spotswood, &c.*— For Mr John Spotswood was placed in Mr Peter Rollock's place, who was commonly stiled Bishop of Dunkelden; and the rest were restored to their own places. Spotswood was the first of the new Prelates that took the place, directly contrair to an Article, given in by his Father to the General Assembly *Anno* 1572. "That the preaching of the word and ministration of civil justice were not compatible in one man's person." Our new Prelats had made a suit for the Kirkmen's place in the Session, according to the first Institution, and that it might take some beginning this year, as ye may see in the Instructions above written. None of the number so bold, and so audacious to begin and break the ice to the rest, as Spotswood.

Page 94 to 118. GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT GLASGOW, JUNE 1610. [The account of this Assembly, with Calderwood's reflections on its proceedings, are not so full in the Wodrow edition as in that of 1678, (page 621 to 639). At the risk, therefore, of occasional repetition, the greater part of that portion of the latter work may be here extracted. After the King's letter of the 1st of April 1610, calling the Assembly, and Archbishop Gladstane's letter to the Presbytery of Chirnside, as given in the Wodrow edition, pages 91-93, the narrative commences with the following remarks:]

Ye see here how timously this Presbytery is warned, even the Presbyterie day before the Assembly. In Februar the King declared by Proclamation, that it was not his minde to appoint any new Assembly, before he were assured of the peaceable inclination of these Ministers, who were to meet. What greater assurance could

he have upon the first of April, the date of the Missive above-written, that some good course should be taken for redresse of all misorders, and that the division of mindes among the Ministers should cease, and be extinguished? Who were these Bishops and Ministers that gave him such hope? Whence came the late advertisement of great Confusion arising in the Kirk, by reason of the loose and unsettled Government, which was therein, and was not known when the Assembly was continued by Proclamation in Februar? Or who did loose and unsettle it? It is strange that the Assembly, which should have been holden at St Andrews in May, should have been discharged without appointing another diet, and upon a sudden it should be appointed to be holden in the beginning of June. Rumours were spread by the Bishops, that we should never have a General Assemblie againe. With such tricks were the Ministers surprised, and the Assembly appointed without their expectation. Whereas the General Assembly ought to consist not only of Ministers, but also of Barones, and Commissioners from Burghes freely chosen; and a general Intimation should be made for that effect, that all that have interess, Appellants, Supplicants and Complainers may be lawfully forwarned: This Assembly was intimat only by Missives to such Ministers and Barones, as it pleased the King, with advice of the Bishops, to call to that meeting. Ye see the election of Commissioners is not left free; but such persons, as the Bishops had made choise of, are recommended to the Presbyteries, to be sent out with commission to the Assembly: For the King himself was not acquaint with the names and disposition of every particular person recommended, or in what Presbytery they had their residence. What good then could be expected of such an Assembly, where the Members are chosen by the Bishops, who were aspiring to the Episcopal jurisdiction? The King intimateth, that it is his pleasure, that the Presbyteries conform themselves to the note of the names, which he had sent to the Bishop, and that they shall do him acceptable service in so doing. Is not this to procure, and solicite for Commissioners, yea in effect to command: *Nam qui*

rogat, potentior, imperat rogando. The King's Missive beareth, that the Bishop was acquaint with his purpose; and the Bishop himself professeth, that he hath credit in these matters, and intimateth, that if they choose any other, they will provoke his Majestie to wrath. Letters were sent likewise to the particular Persons nominat, so that there was no hope, that any other Ministers would have place there; neither was it convenient, that they should mix with them.

The Earle of Dumbar was sent down Commissioner for the King, and with him three English Doctors, Doctor Hamptoun, Doctor Mirriton, and Doctor Hutson. Before the Assembly conveened, he had three dayes serious conference with the Bishops, contriving how to order matters at the Assemblie.

Upon Friday the 8. of June, the first day of the Assembly, a Fast was keeped: But like the fast, which was indicted when Naboth's vineyard was taken from him. Mr John Spotswood, stiled Bishop of Glasgow, taught in the morning upon these words of Jeremie, "I would have cured Babel," &c. He aggraiged the sinne of Sacriledge, and taxed laick Patrons. In end, he said, Religion must not be maintained, after the manner it was brought in, in this land. It was brought in by Confusion: But it must be maintained by Order. It was brought in against Authority; it must be maintained by Authority. Mr James Law, Bishop of Orknay, taught at ten hours upon Rom. xiv. 19. He took upon him to prove the lawfulness of Episcopal Government. He insisted most upon Antiquitie, Universalitie, and Perpetuity: but he passed by *jus divinum*, *jus facti*, and how far the power of his Bishops should be extended; howbeit in the beginning he promised to treat that heed. So his Doctrine was bended against the received Doctrine, and Order of our Kirk, and before the matter was agitat at this Assembly. Mr John Spotswood was chosen Moderator, all voting for him except five, who voted for Mr Patrick Sharpe, no good friend to Discipline; yet not so bad as the other: Which did prognosticat no good to be concluded. Afternoon the little Chaplain Doctor Hutson

taught upon Acts 2. For proof of the Superioritie of Bishops, he alledged Christ's teaching his Apostles, some at his head, some at his bosome, some at his feet.

Upon Saturday, Dumbar presented to the Conference the King's Letter, and caused it to be read twice. Then the President of the Session had his harangue. After he had ended, they advised upon points, which were to be treated in the Assembly, to wit, upon order to be taken with Excommunicat Papists, provision of Ministers serving at the Kirks of the late erections, and upon the means of peace and concord. When these upon the Conference came into the Assembly, Mr Peter Primrose with other ministers of the west, were minded to Protest for the Liberties of the Kirk. He began no sooner to break off, but as soon the Moderator, smelling his intention, interrupted him, and referred him to the Privie Conference: Because they must go to dinner. He and his Associats were so wrought upon, partly by threatning, and partly by flattery and fair words, that there was no more dinne of a Protestation.

The Conclusions, agreed upon in the Privie Conference, were not proponed severally in publick Assembly, or discussed; so easily did the King and his Bishops attain to their intent. To induce the Ministers to condemne the Assembly holden at Aberdeen, Mr Spotswood used this reason. The Brethren banished have promised to confesse a fault, if their fact shall be condemned by a General Assembly. So that if we declare the Assembly, holden at Aberdeen, to be null, they will obtain libertie to return to their own Congregations. The name of Presbytery, in the Conclusion, was rejected, as a word, which his Majestie could not hear with patience: And therefore in steed of the word Presbyterie, according to the meaning of that Assembly, was used this paraphrasis. "The Ministers of the bounds." But the Bishops after did interpret these words to be meant of Ministers within the bounds, where such actions, as are specified, are to be performed, whether they be of one Presbytery, or of diverse, few or moe, as it pleaseth them to assume, the bounds having no bounds

set to them, and the number not being defined. And according to this meaning they did practise, when they thought good: As afterward Spotswood, after he had given orders to Mr Robert Menteith at St Andrews, sent a warrant to Mr John Maxwell to admit him to the Kirk of Duddistoun, assuming to himself other two or three: which he did without acquainting the Presbyterie. When mention is made in the Conclusions, of the Exercise of Prophesying, then in steed of the word Presbyterie is used another phrase, to wit, "The Brethren of the Exercise;" and here the Bishops, as appeareth, meaned no other thing but the Presbyterie: because that Article concerneth not the Discipline. The word Presbyterie, which is used by the Holy Ghost, and was so odious to the King at this time, was heard with patience afterward, in the Assembly of Aberdeen. But such tricks served their turne for the present. Dumbar professed plainly, he would have no man there to give any countenance of disliking. Some of the Voters had no Commission from their Presbyteries; some had limited Commissions; some had Commissions to protest against whatsoever thing should be concluded, prejudicial to the Acts of former Assemblies: As the Commissioners of Hadintoun, howbeit they discharged not their dutie faithfully conform to their Commission. A number of Ministers brought from Caithness, Orknay and Sutherland, by the Bishop of Orknay Mr James Law his procurement, had never seen the face of a General Assembly before. Only five of the whole number voted against the Conclusions.

Notwithstanding the Bishops and the Earle of Dumbar had obtained their intent, in the Third Session, Dumbar produced, in the fourth Session, the King's warrant to discharge Presbyteries; whereby ye may perceive what is meant in the Conclusions by that phrase, "The Ministers of the bounds," according to Dumbar and the Bishop's interpretation. Then was there an out-cry and noise in the Assembly among the Ministers, who notwithstanding had almost spoiled the Presbyteries of all Power and Authoritie with their own consents. They feared, where they

needed not: For the conveening of the Presbyteries is Authorised, and Ratified by Law. Neither could Presbyteries be altogether abolished, till Bishops Courts were substitute in their roomes; which for the present could not be brought to passe. The Noblemen and Ministers requested him to supersede the Proclamation of the discharge, till his Maj. were certified of the proceedings of this Assembly, not doubting but his Maj. would be satisfied therewith. Dumbar promiseth upon his honour to procure, so far as in him lay, to get that discharge recalled, providing they would subscribe the Conclusions which had past, or the Supplication, which was to be sent up to the King for that effect. By this means he got the hands as well as the voices of many foresworn Balaamites.

Upon the Lord's day, Doctor Hampton preached before noon, and taxed the government of Synods and Presbyteries. Doctor Mirriton after-noon defended the calling of Bishops. Upon Munday, the Moderator, after he had praised God for the happie successe he had found in the first point, proponed other two, which were slightly past over: For the first was the main point aimed at, howsoever the other two were pretended. Taking order with Papists, and settling the provision of ministers, were the usual pretences of the Bishops, when they were to compasse their chief designe. So this meeting was dissolved after the singing the 133. Psalme, and no new Assembly was appointed.

Money was given largely to such as served the King and the Bishops men, under pretence of bearing their charges. Mr James Law, Bishop of Orknay, was careful to see his North-land ministers well satisfied. When Mr John Balfour, a Minister in the South, came to him, and complained he had gotten nothing: He answered, he had done no service to his Maj. for he voted *non liquet*. John Lauder, Minister at Cockburnspeth, coming too late, when there was no more resting to be dealt, was content to take ten pounds fourtie pennies lesse. The constant Moderators, so manie as were present, got every one their hundreth pounds Scots, which was promised at the Convention holden *anno* 1606 at Linlithgow.

To some was promised augmentation of their stipends, namely to Mr Michael Cranstoun, Minister at Crammond. Mr John Hall got a pension from the King. Noblemen, Barones, Bishops, and others, who had no Commission either from Presbytery or Synod, were present to make all sure by pluralitie of Votes, if there had been need. The names of all those, who concurred at this meeting, to the damnable Conclusions following, I have here subjoined, together with the proceedings of this Assembly, as they are extant in the Register, and set down as it pleased the Bishops themselves.

The General Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland, holden in Glasgow the 8th of June, the year of God 1610 years, in presence of the King's Majestie's Commissioners, *videlicet:*

. . . . . .

[The roll of Members that follows has already been given in vol. vii. page 104-107, with this slight variation, that there all the ministers appear as "Mr," whereas nine of the number were not entitled to this academical title. The Presbytery of Dunse, also (p. 106, 2d column), as having returned no member, should stand in a line by itself, distinct from Kelso.]

Acta Sessione prima: Octavo Junij 1610.

Exhortation being made by James Bishop of Orknay, Moderator of the last Assembly, the Commissioners, after their accustomed manner, proceeded to the election of the Moderator of this present Assembly. The leets being nominat, John Archbishop of Glasgow, Mr Patrick Sharpe, Mr Patrick Lindsey and John Mitchelson; by plurality of votes John Archbishop of Glasgow was chosen Moderator *hac vice*.

Thereafter, according to the accustomed order, Assessors were chosen out of the bodie of the Assemblie, to conveen with the Moderator in the Privie Conference, for treating of such things as are to be concluded in the Assembly: They are to say, the King's Maj. Commissioners, with the Bishop of Orknay, the Bishop of

Cathness, Mr William Paip, Mr George Monro, the Bishop of Murray, Mr James Dundas, Mr Alexander Rauson, the Bishop of Aberdeen, Mr John Strauchan, Mr George Hay, the Bishop of Brechen, Mr Patrick Lindsey, Mr Andrew Leitch, Mr Arthure Futhie, Mr James Martine, Mr David Monipennie, Mr Robert Howie, Mr John Mitchelsone, Mr William Murray Parson of Dysert, the Bishop of Dunkelden, Mr Archibald Moncreife, Mr William Couper, Mr Alexander Ireland, the Bishop of Dunblane, Mr Peter Hewat, Mr John Hall, Mr Michael Cranstoun, Mr Edward Hepburne, Mr Robert Cornwall, Mr James Carmichael, Mr John Clapperton, Mr James Knox, Mr Thomas Storie, Mr William Birnie, Mr Thomas Muirhead, Mr Patrick Sharpe, Mr Andrew Boyd, Mr John Hay, Mr Alexander Scringeour, Mr Michael Wallace, the Bishop of Galloway, Mr James Adamson, Mr Thomas Ramsey, the Bishop of Argile, the Bishop of the Iles and Mr Neil Campbel.

The hours appointed for meeting of the Privie Conference, are seven hours in the morning, and two hours afternoon; and for the Assembly, nine hours in the morning, and three hours afternoon.

Commissioners appointed for reading and answering of the billes, are Mr Henry Phillip, Mr John Reid, Mr Robert Buchanan, Mr Thomas Hepburne, Mr Walter Stewart, Mr Robert Henrisone, Mr Silvester Ratray.

Acta Sessione secunda: Eodem die.

The which day, the Earle of Dumbar, one of his Majestie's Commissioners, after he had made open declaration of his Majestie's good minde and zealous intention towards the establishing of a good, solid and perfect order, in the discipline of the Kirk in this realme; in the which there were sundrie points, which his Majestie would have reformed, the reformation whereof doth most properly appertain to his Highness, in respect of his Royal Authoritie, and duty, wherein his Majestie is bound to God Almightie to provide, that the Estate of the Kirk within his dominions should be settled as well in

Discipline, as in Doctrine, according to the Word of God; to the effect that, the same being once solidly setled, the true Word of God may be purely and sincerely preached to his Highness subjects; and the Discipline of the Kirk, once wisely and discreetly settled, may be inviolably observed in all times coming. Thereafter he produced his Majesties' Letter directed to this present Assembly, whereof the tenor followeth.

> Followeth the tenor of his Majestie's Letter, direct, To the right Reverend Fathers in God, our trustie and welbeloved Cousins, and Counsellours, and others our trustie and welbeloved, the Prelats, Noblemen, and others our loving subjects, as well Ministrie, as Laity, presently met and conveened in this Assembly.
>
> (*Sic inscribitur,*)
> JAMES REX.

Right Reverend Fathers in God, Right trustie and welbeloved Cousins, Counsellours, and others our trustie and Loving subjects, now conveened in this present Assembly, We greet you well. If the most sharp censure were taken of every one his particular affection to the Religion professed, we might very justly boast, without ostentation, of our ever continued constancie, praised be God; notwithstanding of both the allurements, as also the threatnings of the adversarie, and of the misbehaviour, yea the pride, and often treasonable contempts of some of our subjects of the same profession; so that none, unto whom either our bypast life hath been known, or to whom our present actions are notour, but they without doubt will rest fully perswaded hereof; since we have now openly declared ourselves to be the principal opposits on earth to the Antichristian enemie, against whom to our last breath, without respect of hazard, we do intend to maintain and defend the truth professed. And as it hath pleased God in his mercie to appoint us to be the Nourish Father of his Church here on earth, within our dominions, so do we intend ever to be most

careful for setting forward all such things which may advance his glorie, and breed quietness and peace in the Church; unto which nothing hath been so great an enemie as the want of Order and Government, without which no bodie or estate, either Ecclesiasticall or Civil, can subsist. And howsoever the singularitie of some did, for a certain space maintain, either by wilfulness or ignorance, a sort of headless government; yet ere long it did kyth what inconvenience and harm might ensue to the Church, and advancement of the Gospel, by any longer continuance thereof. Which moved us, during our stay there in our own person, to take so great pains for finding remedie to this, which otherways had tried [kythed] so incurable a canker, being permitted to have had any farther progresse. And, therefore, at that time, willing to do things rather by consent, than absolutly out of our royal power and authoritie (which also is very lawful, and granted to us by God himself), we thereupon not only assisted and countenanced sundrie Assemblies of that Church by our own presence, but have caused others be conveened since our departure from thence, having to our great cost and charges procured also maintenance, sufficient in some reasonable sort for the Fathers of the Church; and have directed order to be taken for the plantation of Churches void: As likewise, in so far as the Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction by secular persons was incroched upon, we have put also remedie thereto: So as we did fully hope, that before this time the Church thereupon apprehending and perceiving errours past, in suffering that Anarchie amongst them to keep so long continuance, should have resolved and concluded, and therewith have become suiters and soliciters unto us, for establishing of that government and rule, which is most fit and allowed of in former times in the Primitive Church: so that things should not be left still in uncertainty, by reason of the division and distraction of mindes among yourselves, by which, to your own knowledge, both the common enemie hath increased, and sinne and wickedness remain unpunished. But whether the default be in the Fathers of the Church, their unwillingness or unworthiness, to do and perform

what in dutie belongeth unto them, or in the factious singularitie of others of the meaner rank (who do perhaps presume of their greater credit by keeping things in confusion :) and we not being fully acquainted with the true cause, and yet in our dutie to our God, as being his Lieutenant here, holding ourselves justly bound not to suffer this sort of lingering, in a matter of such moment, have thereupon thought it expedient to call this present Assembly, not so much for necessitie as that any thing is to be moved, whereunto your consent is much requisite ; but that our true affection to God's glory, and advancement thereof, and to the peace and well of the Church, being declared and manifested, you may try the more inexcusable, for not urging that good to the Church, which we do intend for it without your consents, if we finde a slow concurrence upon your part ; and yet hoping, that your forwardness will remove all opinion, which may be conceived, either of unwillingness, or oppositions to our so godly intentions : And having referred the particular imparting of our farther pleasure and minde herein, to our right trustie and right welbeloved Cousine and Counsellour, the Earle of Dumbar, and the right reverend Father our right trustie Counsellour, the Archbishop of St Andrews, (both of whom we have directed as our Commissioners to this present Assembly, and whom we will you credit and trust) and intending upon their reports to take special notice of every ones affection, and forwardness in this service, and thereupon to acknowledge and remember them hereafter, as any fit occasion for their good shall occurre. We commit you and your actions, with the good successe of the business, to God's good guiding ; and bid all of you right heartily farewel. From our court at Thetfurde, the eight of May 1610.

After the reading of which his Majestie's Letter, the Assembly thought it most expedient, that the Brethren, appointed to be on the Privie Conference, should conveen the next day in the morning, and privately among themselves after reasoning advise upon such heeds of the Discipline of the Kirk, as they

should think to have need to be reformed, for giving his Majestie satisfaction in that point.

Acta Sessione tertia: Nono Junij, post meridiem.

The which day, the whole Assembly being conveened, the Brethren, appointed for the Privie Conference, by the mouth of the Moderator declared, that after long deliberation they had agreed upon certain heeds concerning the special points of Discipline, within the Church of this Realme, for satisfaction of his Majestie's will, contained in his Highness Letter, which was thought expedient to be read openly to the whole Assembly, whereof the tenor followeth.

Follow the Heeds and Articles concerning the Discipline of the Kirk, to be observed in all time coming.

. . . . . .

["The Heads and Articles," &c., and the "Forms of the Oath," are inserted in vol. vii. page 99, to page 102, line 17. In the edition 1678, page 632, is the following marginal note:— "NOTA, five disassented, seven *non liquet:* Mr Thomas Ramsey Minister at Dumfreis, Mr William Wallace Minister at Simonton, Mr William Stirline Minister at. Mr James Stewart Minister at Saling, in the Presbytery of Dumfermline.]

Acta Sessione quarta: Undecimo Junij, ante meridiem.

The said day, the Earle of Dumbar one of his Majestie's Commissioners, being presently of intention, to have caused instantly discharge all Presbyterial meetings by open Proclamation at the market Crosse of Glasgow; and that because he had received a special warrant and command from his Majestie to that effect, which he on no wayes would, nor durst disobey; the whole Assembly most earnestly interceed with his Lordship, that it might please his Lordship, to continue the making of the said Proclamation, and discharge of the Presbyteries contained in the said Letter, for a certain space; that, in the meantime his

Majestie might be certiorat of the proceedings of this present Assembly, which they doubted not would give his Majestie full satisfaction in that part; unto the which request, these of the Nobilitie, being presently conveened by his Majestie's direction in the said Assembly, did concurre, and interpon their request to that same effect: Whereunto the said Earle of Dumbar having acquiesced upon special offer made by the Noblemen conveened, that they would interceed at his Majestie's hands, that he should be blameless for the said delay; for the which the Assembly did give his Lordship most heartie thanks. And therefore ordained a Letter to be directed, in name of the whole Assembly, containing a most humble Supplication, that it might please his Majestie of his gracious favour to accept of the proceedings of this present Assembly, in the matter of the Discipline of the Kirk, whereunto they had condescended for satisfaction of his Majestie's good will, contained in his Highness Letter; and in respect thereof, that it might stand with his Majestie's good pleasure and will, to superseed all further discharge of the said Presbyteries.

Anent the Supplication, given in name of George Marquess of Huntlie, &c. bearing in effect, that after long Conference and reasoning, had in the controverted heeds of Religion, betwixt his L. and certain of the Ministery deputed to that effect, he was fully resolved in all doubts and difficulties that might arise therein, or trouble him in any sort; in token whereof, he hath subscribed the whole Heeds and Articles of the Religion, presently professed within this Realme; which were presented with the said Supplication: And therefore desiring that a commission may be directed from this present Assembly, giving power to such Commissioners as they should appoint, to absolve him from the sentence of Excommunication, in respect of his satisfaction foresaid; as at more length is contained in the said Supplication. Therefore, the Earle of Dumbar, his Majestie's Commissioner, having declared, in his Majestie name, his Highnesse minde anent the Absolution of the Marquess of Huntlie from the sentence of Excommunication; and in special, that it should be tried if his L. was fully in heart

and in conscience resolved and satisfied in the heads of Religion, as he had subscribed the same with his hand, to the intent that thereafter he might be absolved from the said sentence of Excommunication. The General Assembly being ripely advised with the said Supplication, and his Majestie's minde declared by his Highness Commissioner thereanent, Giveth, granteth and committeth their full Commission to the persons after specified, the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishops of Orknay, Galloway, Brechen, Mr John Hall, Mr Patrick Simpsone, Mr William Couper, Mr Patrick Sharpe, and Mr Andrew Leitch, with power to them to passe with his Majestie's Commissioners, and the Earles of Montrose, Glencarne, Cathness, Linlithgow, Kinghorne, Wigtoun and Lothian, to the Castle of Stirline, where the said Marquess is presently confined, and there to try the said Marquess his intention and resolution, in the Heads and Articles of the Religion; and if he be fully satisfied thereanent in his heart and conscience, as he hath outwardly professed the same, subscribed with his hand; and in case they finde him fully resolved, and of inward intention to give full satisfaction, in all the points and heads of Religion controverted; and to avow, and constantly to confesse and professe the true Religion, that is presently professed publickly within this Realme: In that case they give full power and commission to the said Brethren, with Mr John Hay, Mr John Mitchell, Mr Robert Cornwall and Mr Patrick Lindsey, or any Nine of them (the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow being alwayes two) to absolve him from the processe and sentence of Excommunication.

Item, It was humbly regrated in the Assembly, that notwithstanding of many lovable Acts and Constitutions, as well Ecclesiastical, as Civil, alreadie made and enacted for repressing the disorder and insolence of professed and excommunicat Papists; yet nevertheless they do still remain in their former obstinacie and disobedience, proceeding doubtlesse upon the impunity which they do enjoy, and oversight whereby they are suffered to have free passage and accesse in all the parts of the Countrey, as if

they were not Excommunicat: For remedie whereof it is ordained, that every one of the Commissioners present give in roll to the Clerk of the Assembly, all the persons that are excommunicat within their bounds; that the same being presented by him to my Lord Commissioner, his Lordship may cause the Secret Councel take order with them according to the Lawes of the countrey.

And because it is not unknown to the King's Majestie what manifold treasonable practices and attempts, are, from time to time, devised against his Majestie and his Royal Estate by the Papists, and professed enemies to the truth: Therefore the Assembly hath thought good, that a Supplication should be directed to his Majestie in name of the whole Assembly, to put his Majestie in remembrance of his own estate and danger, whereunto his Majestie is subject through the cruel and craftie treason, daily forged and contrived against his State and Person by the Papists, Jesuits, and Seminarie Priests, enemies to God and the true Religion, and to his Majestie, because his Highness is a special maintainer of the same against their false and erroneous Doctrines; that, therefore, it would please his Majestie to have such regard to his own Estate, and preservation of his most sacred Person from their bloudie devices, that by debarring of them, and their favourers from his Majestie's presence, his Majestie, by the grace and protection of God Almighty, may be preserved in safety, to the advancement of the glorie of God, establishing of the true Peace of his Kirk within his Majestie's Dominions, and comfort and tranquilitie of his Highness subjects, whose wealth and prosperitie in this earth, under God, they acknowledge to consist in his Majestie's preservation.

Acta Sessione quinta: Undecimo Junij, *post meridiem.*

Forsameikle as in this present Assembly it is alreadie statuted, that the Exercises shall be moderated by the Bishops, in the meetings of the Ministerie, if they be present; or then by any other, whom he shall appoint at the time of the Synod: and because the next Synod is not to be holden before the moneth of October next to come; therefore it is ordained, that in absence

of the Bishop, the constant Moderators shall remain in their own places, while the next Synod, to be holden in October next to come.

Item, Because it is uncivil that Lawes and Constitutions, either Civil or Ecclesiastical, being once established, and in force by publick and open consent, should be controlled, and called in question by any Person, Therefore it is statute by uniform consent of this whole Assembly, that none of the Ministerie, either in pulpit in his preaching, or in the publick exercise, speak or reason against the Acts of this present Assemblie, nor disobey the same, under the pain of deprivation, being tried and convicted thereof: And in special that the question of equalitie, and inequalitie in the Kirk, be not treated in the pulpit, under the said pain; and that every one of the said Commissioners present intimat this act, at their first meeting in their Exercise.

Item, It is statute and ordained by the whole Assembly, that the celebration and solemnization of the holy band of Matrimonie be refused to no Christians within this Realme, neither upon Sunday, nor upon any other day, when the samine shall be required: And ordaineth that the same be performed with all Christian modestie, and without all disorder.

Item, Because through sundrie parts within this Realme, as well in the Highlands and Borders, as in the mid-countrey, and best inhabited and peopled land, there be many Kirks lying destitute of a Pastor, and preaching of the Word, to the great discomfort of the people, whose soules are thereby frustrated of the ordinarie food of the Word of God, which proceeds for the most part of the laick Patronages, and erection of Spiritual benefices in temporal livings; which erections are either not accepted by the purchasers thereof, but left in suspense at the Seales, without any provision made to the Ministers of the Kirks of the benefice: Or if they be accepted, either the provision, appointed for the Minister, is so mean, that it is altogether unable to intertain an honest man in his calling; or else the Minister is altogether secluded from uplifting that portion, alloted to him by parishioners, addebted in

payment thereof, and is compelled to await for the same from the erected Lord his Chamberlain, or his garner, and so in a manner getteth none, or at the least small payment of the same: For remeed whereof it is thought expedient, that the Brethren after specified, viz., the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow; the Bishops of Orknay, Galloway and Caithness, with John Clappertoun, Mr John Hall and Mr Robert Buchanan shall conveen at Edinburgh the 20. day of June instant, and form a Supplication to be direct to his Majestie for planting of all the Kirks, that are unplanted within this Realme, whatsoever rank or qualitie the same be of, and that the same be direct to his Majestie by the Archbishop of (*name left blank,*) the Bishop of Brechen, Mr John Hall and Mr William Couper, whom the Assembly hath appointed their lawful Commissioners, to present in all reverence to his Majestie the humble Petitions and Supplications, direct to his Highness from this present Assembly.

Thus far word by word extracted out of the Register, nothing omitted, but a particular in the end concerning Mr Thomas Henrison.

Observations upon Glasgow Assembly.

[These Observations, although much the same with the "Considerations," inserted in vol. vii. page 108, &c., are nevertheless worthy of notice.]

Here observe, good Reader, the King in his Letter professeth he had taken pains, before his departure out of the Countrey, to settle the Government of the Kirk, as if before it had wanted all kinde of Order and Government; whereas he professed at his departure, he intended no alteration of the established Discipline. As for division and distraction, there was none, till he obtruded vote in Parliament to the Kirk. Neither is it properly to be called division or distraction, where a few, born-up by secular authoritie, contend for preeminence, the rest repining, or thralled to give way. How could Votes be counted sincere and free, where the King promiseth to reward such as are pliable to his course.

In their Conclusions they confesse, that the necessitie of the Kirk craveth there should be yearly General Assemblies. Yea the Bishops assured the Ministers there conveened, and that very often, that the King would grant them the libertie of General Assemblies every year. Whereupon it was concluded, that the Bishops should be liable to the censures of the General Assemblie. Therefore this failing, it appeareth, the power, granted in these Articles abovewritten, falleth, and the Bishops are but Usurpers in whatsoever thing they clame by vertue of these Articles. This is not to excuse the perfidie and perjurie of the Ministers there conveened altogether, seing they were bound by Oath and Subscription to maintain the Established Discipline all the dayes of their lives. Farther, what hope could there be of bearing down their tyrannie in the General Assemblies, if Presbyteries and Synods be made obnoxious unto them, seing General Assemblies consist of Commissioners sent from Presbyteries and Synods? And so, if the Presbyteries and Synods be corrupt, the Assembly must be corrupt also. Where they acknowledge the indiction of the Assembly to appertain to the King, by the Prerogative of his Royal Crown, they have betrayed one of the chief liberties, that our Kirk had not only granted to her by Christ, but also was ratified by the Estates, in the hands of the King, so far as in them lay; (if that clause be not foisted-in without their knowledge, as is very likely;) I say, so far as in them lay: Because their Assemblie being null in the self, that libertie is not yet rendered, but only with-holden.

The Bishop by these Articles may depute another Minister of the Diocie, to visit his Diocie; but not to moderat a Diocesan Synod: unlesse the Visitation of the Diocie, and moderating of the Synod be taken for one thing, and so it seemeth indeed. For it is ordained, that whatsoever Minister without cause shall absent himself from Visitation, or the Diocesan Assemblie, shall be suspended from his Office and Benefice; and if he amend not, shall be deprived. So Visitation and the Diocesan Synod are here taken as equivalent to Visitation of Ministers at a Diocesan Sy-

nod. And this Visitation is called by Silvester in his *Summa*, *Visitatio non plena*; and distinguished from *plena*, when the Bishop visiteth the particular Kirks of his Diocie. Saw we not that they used no other Visitation of the particular Kirks of their Diocies, but upon rare occasions? Choosed not the Bishop his own Clerk, without consent of the Synod? Substituted he not a Vicegerent when he pleased, without consent of the Synod; and continued the diet at his own pleasure; summoned persons to compear, in his own name, and not in the name of the Synod; suffered nothing to come in voting, but what he pleased; or the names to be called for giving voices, but when he pleased; numbered or pondered them as he pleased: And when he had ventured a matter upon pluralitie of votes, and they had piped, he did dance as he pleased? So said Mr James Law Bishop of Glasgow, at one of his Diocesan Synods. And yet Ministers, to excuse their repairing to Diocesan Synods, would bear the world in hand, that there is no difference betwixt the Provincial Synods we had, and these Diocesan Synods, but only that the Bishop is constant Moderator. If it be not an Episcopal Visitation, why is the pretended Bishop suffered to substitute a Vicegerent, seing that part of the Act, which toucheth the Moderation of Diocesan Synods, giveth him no such power, or to do anything but that which a simple Moderator should do? Episcopal Visitation and a Provincial Synod or Councel cannot subsist together in one Meeting, and one manner of proceeding: in the one, the Bishop is only President or Moderator, but in the other he is Judge, and the Ministers there conveened subject themselves to his Visitation. When Ministers therefore shall oppose to the Bishop, substituting whom he pleaseth, to Moderat, citing in his own name, and using negative power, &c. then shall we say, they stand to the nature of a Synod? If it were meerly a Synod, yet there cannot be that freedome, which was in our Synods before: Because the perpetuitie of Moderation, in the persons of the pretended Bishops, beareth down free reasoning and voting; because by a divided consideration the Bishop is to be considered as High Commissioner, or as

Bishop of the Diocie, armed with power, out of the Synod, and without their consents, to Suspend, Deprive, Ward, Fine, give Collation, &c.

It would be demanded, how the Bishops can alledge, that Presbyteries stand only *precario*, and by tollerance? For where shall the processe against any offender be intended, or reduced, till it come to the pronouncing of the sentence, if not in the Presbyterie? For in this point the power of the Presbyteries is not abolished, nor is there any ordinary judicatorie Ecclesiastical established by the conclusions of this Assembly, in room or place of the Presbyteries, for that effect. As for the Bishops, they have no power here granted to intentat, or deduce processe against any offender. And as for the High Commission, it is not a judicatorie ordinar of the Kirk.

It is provided, that in case the Bishop shall be found to stay the pronouncing of the sentence of Excommunication, the processe being lawfully deduced, that the King shall be advertised by the General Assembly, that another may be placed in his room. Doth not this presuppose, that there must be an ordinarie set time of the General Assemblies? And doth it not likewise follow, that seing we have not these ordinarie Assemblies once in the year, and at set times, that the Presbyteries may proceed to the sentence of Excommunication, or Absolution; albeit the Bishops approbation cannot be had?

By the Conclusion of this Assembly, Collation of benefices was not taken from Presbyteries; howbeit it be ordained, that presentations be directed hereafter to the Bishop.

Is it not a ridiculous form of proceeding, to require the Ministers of the bounds, where the person presented, or to be admitted, is to serve, to try his conversation and qualification; and the Bishop himself to enter after in a farther trial? For what if he judge him not qualified, whom they finde qualified? Shall the judgement of one crosse the judgement of many? For there is no other abilitie or qualification required by the Article, but for the function of the Ministery.

If by the Ministers of the bounds, that should try the person to be admitted, be meant the Presbytery, as such was truely meant by that meeting, forbearing the word Presbyterie, only because it was odious to the King, as was alledged. Then Bishops may not referre the trial to any Ministers within such a circuit or bounds, where the person is to serve, and neglect the Presbytery. For if only the name was forborn, because offensive to the King, and this other periphrasis, of "the Ministers of the bounds," used in steed of it, the thing itself remaineth to be understood under that periphrasis, to wit, the Meeting or Company of Ministers within such a bounds, making up one senat and constant societie. Why then do not Presbyteries oppose to the admitting of Ministers without their trial?

The Bishop is not bound by the Article of Admission, to joyn the Presbyterie with him, in the Act of Ordination, but so many of the Ministery of the bounds, as he will assume to himself. In this point indeed much is derogat from the power of the Presbytery: Yet our Prelats many times did not so much as assume some of the Ministers of the bounds. They gave Ordination in their Chappels, and devided Giving of Orders, as they call them, and Admission to a particular Charge, as is the manner in the Popish and English Church, and contrair to the ancient order of our Kirk, and book of Discipline; and without warrant of this their own Assembly. Might not then the Presbyterie justly oppose to such an Ordination, and exclude the person ordained out of their number, seeing ordinarie General Assemblies cannot be had to censure the Bishop, as was both promised, and beleeved? And for the same reason might not Presbyteries proceed to Admission by themselves, if the Bishop failed on his part, or took any other course then is approved by the Acts of the General Assembly?

By the Articles of deposition it followeth, that no Bishop by himself may try, or deprive the delinquent Minister; nor yet associat to himself other Ministers in the Diocie, without the bounds or Presbytery, where the delinquent serveth; nor yet to associat

to himself other Bishops. As for their power they have in the High Commission, they have it not by vertue of this Act, but from the King, without consent either of Parliament or Assembly. It may be demanded likewise, if the Presbyteries may not proceed against the delinquents, if the Bishop disdain, or neglect their assistance or concurrence; seeing there is no ordinary General Assemblie to complain unto, for his frowardness, as was promised?

In the Article of the oath to be taken at the time of Admission, the minister is bound to swear Obedience to his Ordinar. But no where is it declared who is the Ordinar, what is the power and office of this Ordinar; or that these who are stiled Bishops, are the Ordinars, or the words of the oath conceived; but omitted: So that it seemeth these words *and to his Ordinar*, were foisted in.

In the Article of Visitation it appeareth, that by the Diocesan Synod is meant no other thing but Episcopal Visitation; as we have alreadie made manifest.

In the Article of the exercise of Doctrine, the exercise of Discipline, for any thing that is said in that Article, may be moderated by a Moderator chosen by the Presbytery.

If the Bishops shall be subject in all things concerning their life, conversation, office and benefice, to the censure of the General Assembly, then it is evident, that in the former Articles nothing was granted but upon assurance of ordinary General Assemblies. Therefore, this failing, it followeth, that not only have they, *ipso facto*, forfaulted all the power granted to them in the former Articles; but also that they remain still subject to the censures of Presbyteries and Synods, conform to the Caveats set down in former Assemblies, for keeping them from corruption.

General Assemblies may choose their own Moderator, notwithstanding of any thing that is said in the act of this Assembly; howsoever the pretended Archbishop usurped the place.

The Nullity of Glasgow Assembly.

The Nullitie of this Assembly may be inferred upon that which hath been alreadie said. The worthiest of the Ministrie were

banished, warded or confined, and detained in confinement many years, without trial or conviction, who were most able for light and experience to give light unto others. The election of Commissioners was not left free to Presbyteries. Intimation was not made by public proclamation, that all who had interess might be present. Terrours were used by the King's Commissioner, and the guard was present to terrifie. Ministers were bribed, and votes bought and sold. Sundrie voted without, or contrair to their commission. Promises made, and assurances given, to induce, but not performed; and captious phrases used, to circumveen.

Some Ministers condemn the Assembly publickly.

When the Noblemen and Bishops came to Stirline, immediately after the dissolving of the Assembly, Mr Patrick Simpson minister at Sterline, in time of sermon, laid to the charge of the Bishops so clearly their perjurie and defection, that the Bishops were in doubt whether to delate him, or to comport with him: But patience then prevailed with them. When they came to Edinburgh, Mr Walter Balcanquel did the like. He was called before the Councel, where *coram* he convicted Bishop Law of perjurie and apostasie, so that he had not one word to answer. So he escaped with a simple admonition to be sober, and acquiesce to the Conclusions of the Assemblies of the Kirk.

The Conclusions of this Assembly ratified by Proclamation.

[The Proclamation referred to in the following paragraph is contained in vol. vii. pages 116-118.]

Upon these occasions, and for fear of the like, followed a terrible Proclamation, commanding all subjects of whatsomever sort, condition or function, to obtemper, obey, and not to impugne any article, point or head of the Conclusions of the last Assembly; and in special all teaching and preaching Ministers, and lecturing Readers, that they presume not, either in their sermons publickly,

or in privat conferences, to impugne, deprave, contradict, condemne, or utter their disallowance or dislike, in any point or article of these most grave and wise Conclusions of that Assembly, ended with such harmonie, as they will answer at their highest peril and charge: And commanding all Sheriffs, Stewarts, Bailiffs, and their Deputes, all Provosts and Bailiffs of Burrows, and other Magistrats whatsomever, that if they do hear or understand of any breach of this present Commandment by any preacher, minister, or lecturing reader, or other subject whatsomever, that they fail not presently to commit the trespasser in this kind, to some prison and ward, till the Lords of the Privie Council be advertised, and answer be returned, what should be done farther. And commanding all other subjects, bearing no office or charge of Magistracie, that, upon hearing of any man transgressing this present command, they certifie the next Magistrat, or some one of the Privie Council, with certification they shall be holden as guiltie. An evil deed hath need to be well backed. When God's glorie and well of the Kirk, was respected in Assemblies, there was no need of such charges and Proclamations, to force Ministers to obedience, or to suppress obloquie.

A little after the Assembly holden at Glasgow, James Colvine, a Scottish gentleman, visiting Mr Andrew Melvine in the Tower, found him so pensive and melancholious, that he got no speech of him for a space, at length he brake forth in these words. "That man (meaning Dumbar) that hath overthrown that Kirk, and the liberties of Christ's kingdome there, shall never have that grace to set his foot in that Kingdome again." As he foretold, so it came to passe: and Dumbar ended his life, the next Januar following, at Whythall.

Page 122, line 24. *Mr William Cowper*, an unconstant man, and now gaping for a Bishoprick, *said, My Lord, hear me, &c.*

Page 123, line 7 *from foot. I have here subjoined, &c.* :—
When the Bishop intimated this Synod, he sent his missives to

particular Ministers, requesting them to concurre to such things, as are competent to that Judicatorie, for their interess, and to abide such trial as shall be thought fittest; and withall intimateth, that suspension from the ministry, is the penaltie of wilful absence for the first time. Howbeit Mr Gladstones behaved himself somewhat calmly at this time, that he might get possession of his pretended power: Yet ye see in the premises sundrie signes of Episcopal Visitation, rather then a Provincial Councel or Synod.

Page 150. THREE SCOTS BISHOPS CONSECRATED.

[This and the next short paragraph differ in several minute particulars from the text in vol. vii., pages 150 and 152.]

Mr John Spotswoode Bishop of Glasgow, Mr Andrew Lambe Bishop of Brechin, and Mr Gawin Hammiltoun Bishop of Galloway, were all three consecrated Bishops solemnly, in the moneth of November, by Abbots Bishop of London. There was no mention made, in the Assemblie of Glasgow, of their Consecration: For howbeit the unhappie pack, there conveened, tyed Presbyteries and Synods unto them, in the cases expressed; yet meant they not to determine, that there was a distinct Office of a Bishop in the Word, differing from the Office of a Minister. For by the Bishop of the Diocie, in the Act of Glasgow, is not meant a Bishop by Office, but only a simple Minister, so stiled in the preceeding Assembly, and that vulgarly in respect of his great benefice of Bishoprick. That some Ministers by Divine, or Apostolick institution, ought to have power over other Ministers and their Flocks, or are to be proper Pastors of all the Congregations of the Diocie, or that Ordination of Presbyters was tyed to them by Divine right, was not the meaning of that Assembly: And therefore no Consecration was intended. The power granted to them, was only a power derived from that Convention, which another Assembly may take from them again, without Degradation or Execration, as they called it. Their Consecration then is of no force, and ought not to be acknowledged.

In the moneth of December, the three consecrated Bishops re-

turned to Scotland, and consecrated Mr George Gladstones Archbishop of St Andrews, after the same manner, that they were consecrated themselves. But the Consecration of the first three being null, the rest, that followed, are null also.

Page 159, line 2, *howbeit not relaxed from excommunication*. The Bishops had obtained their purpose, as they thought, and therefore Papists were set at libertie again.

Page 165. Mr George Gladstone's Letter to the King.

Master Gladstones sent this Letter following to the King in August:—

Most Gracious Soveraign,

As it hath pleased your Majestie to direct me, and my Lord your Majestie's Secretarie, for advising anent our affairs to be handled in this approaching Parliament: So happily did I finde him and my Lord of Glasgow both in this Town, and conveened them both, immediately after my arriving, and with good advisement we have made choise of those things which are most necessarie, and have omitted those Articles which may seem to carrie envy or suspicion, or which your Majestie, by your Royal Authoritie, might perform by yourself. But we all hold fast this conclusion, that it is most necessary and convenient, both for your Majestie's service and well of the Kirk, that the day, viz., the 12. of October, shall hold precisely, to the which the Parliament was proclaimed upon the 24. of this instant. I will assure your Majestie, that the very evil will which is carried to my Lord Chancelour by the Nobility and People, is like to make us great store of friendship; for they know him to be our professed enemie; and he dissembleth it not. I thank God that it pleased your Majestie to make choise of my Lord Secretary to be our Formalist and Adviser of our Acts; for we finde him wise, fast, and secret. We will not be idle, in the mean time, to prepare such as have Vote to incline the right way. All men do follow us, and hunt for our favour, upon the report of your Majestie's good acceptance

of me and the Bishop of Cathness; and sending for my Lord of Glasgow, and the procurement of this Parliament without advice of the Chancelour. And if your Majestie will continue these shining beames and shewes of your Majestie's favour, doubtless, the very purpose, that seemeth most difficil, will be facilitat to your Majestie's great honour, and our credit; which, if it were greater then it is, your Majestie would receive no interess; for, besides that no Estate may say, that they are your Majestie's creatures, as we may say, so there is none whose standing is so slippery, when your Majestie shall frown, as we; for, at your Majestie's nod, we must either stand or fall. But we referre the more ample declaration of these purposes, and other points of your Majestie's service, to the sufficiency of my Lord of Glasgow, and my good Lord Secretarie, the fourteenth Bishop of this Kingdom. But my Lord of Glasgow and I are contending to which of the two Provinces he shall appertain. Your Majestie, who is our great Archbishop, must decide it. Thus, after my most humble and heartie thanks for your Majestie's good acceptance and gracious dispatch lately, which hath filled the ears of all this Kingdome, I beseech God to heap upon your Majestie the plentie of all Spiritual and Temporal blessings for ever. I rest

Your Majestie's most humble subject and servitour,

Edinburgh, the last of August 1612. S. ANDREWS.

Page 173, line 33, *areemed from all censure.* But if that Assembly were to be acknowledged, we are to look more to the Act of the Assembly, than to the ratification of it, or explanation in Parliament; which is like the gloss of Orleance destroying the text.

Pages 174 and 176. [Two of the paragraphs are thus briefly dismissed in edit. 1678, p. 647.]

I passe by the death of Prince Henrie, who departed this life the seventh of November, as a matter treated at length in other Histories.

I passe by the marriage of Ladie Elizabeth, solemnized upon the 14. of Februar, referring the Reader to the English storie.

Page 193, line 2. Some things the Bishops behoved to do against Papists, lest they should seem to be advised only to persecute Ministers. Mr John Ogilvie, Jesuit, was apprehended at Glasgow by Mr John Spotswood Bishop of Glasgow. *He had, &c.*

Page 197, line 17, *to procure to them the King's favour.* We have heard of his strange disease, and senseless end in general; but I have not learned certainly the particulars. *He was buried upon the 7th of June, &c.* (as at p. 200.)

Page 222. The names of "the Doctors Inaugurated" are given more correctly in the edit. 1678—"Mr Patrick Melvine, Mr John Strang, Mr Theodor Hay, and Mr David Barclay," were inaugurat Doctors at St Andrews.

Page 223, line 2. *The Secretare, &c.*—Secretar Hammilton and the Lord Carnegie were appointed by the King to assist the Earle of Montrose.

Page 223, line 21, &c. [This account of the proceedings of the General Assembly, held at Aberdeen in 1616, is not so full as in the edit. 1678, which is as follows]:—

I have here subjoined the Proceedings and Acts of this General Assembly, as they are extant in the Clerk's scrolles.

Acta Sessione secunda: Decimo quarto Augusti *anno* 1616.

Forsameekle as the most urgent causes of the Convocation of this present Assembly, is to obviat the great increase of Papistrie within this Realme, and to try out the just causes thereof, to the effect that sufficient remedies may be provided for repressing of the same, in all time coming; and that it is found by the whole Assembly, that a great part of the cause of the said increase re-

lieth, partly upon the slackness of the Ministery in their Holy profession, and partly upon the no executing of the Lawes, as well Civil as Ecclesiastical, against such persons as either were Excommunicat themselves, and contemned the censure; or who intertained, reset, and maintained those who were Excommunicat, or who were Traffickers against the true Religion, presently professed within this Realme. For remedie whereof, the whole Assembly in one voice hath statute and ordained in manner following.

In the first place, for the better trial and discerning of Apostats, it is statute and ordained, that whosoever hath confessed the true Religion, presently professed within this Realme, and hath subscribed the samine, and hath received the Holy Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, and Communicat conform to the order observed within this Realme; if at any time hereafter he or she be found, either to reason against the said true Religion, presently professed within this Realme, or any article or head thereof, or to rail against the same, or else directly or indirectly to be a seducer or perverter of others from the truth presently professed, as said is; or if he or she be found to reset or intertain any Trafficking Papists, Jesuits or seminary Priests: Any of the said facts or deeds shall be a sufficient signe of Apostacie, and the so doers shall be repute, holden, and punished as Apostats.

And because the probation, in the said cases, is difficil and almost impossible, in respect the said deeds are committed covertly, and wherein probation can hardly be deduced. Therefore it is statute, that in case other probation cannot be had, that it shall be lawful to prove the same by the oath of the Partie alledged committer of the said facts, and deeds; and that it shall not be leesome to him to refuse to give his oath, in the said matters, upon whatsoever colour or pretence of Criminal action, or others following thereupon; and to this effect that a Supplication be directed to his Majestie that it might please his Highness, to set down an Ordinance for ratification of the former Statute, to the effect it may be received in all Judicatories.

Item, It is statute, if any person or persons, who have conformed themselves to the true Religion, presently professed within this Realme, and have subscribed the Confession of the Faith, and received the Communion, if at any time hereafter he or they do not haunt the ordinar exercise of religion, being admonished by the Pastor *trina admonitione*, the same being proven, shall be a cause to punish them, as holden and reputed Apostats.

Item, It is statute and ordained, that whosoever weareth or beareth upon their person, idols, images, *Agnus Dei*, beeds, crosses or crucifixes, either upon their persons, or in their books, or in their houses, they being tried and convicted thereof, the said having or wearing of the said idols, and others saids, shall be a cause of an Apostacie, and they shall be holden and repute as Apostats. —(This part was crossed through, and the Archbishop wrote on the margin, as followeth, "I would have this Act so formed, and extracted:—*Item*, If any person, known of before time to have been a Papist, and after his reconciling to the Kirk, shall be tried to wear *Agnus Dei*, beeds, crucifixes, on their persons, or to have in their houses idols and images, such as before they have superstitiously used, the samine shall inferre against the said person just suspicion of Apostacie, and falling back in the said errours.")

Item, It is statute and ordained in all time hereafter, whensoever any Minister shall receive any Papist, returning from his errours to the bosome of the Kirk, that at the time of his receiving, the Minister shall first take his oath solemnly sworn, that he shall declare the veritie of his Faith and belief, in every particular point and article, contained in the Confession of Faith, which shall be asked at him; and that immediately thereafter, the said Minister shall examine him particularly upon every head contained in the Confession of Faith, and receive his particular answers thereupon *affirmative*, conform to the same: Otherwise that he shall not be received.

Item, It is statute anent the Wives of Noblemen and others, who reset Trafficking Papists, Jesuits, and Seminarie Priests, as if the same were done against the will and knowledge of the Hus-

bands, that all such women shall be called, and conveened for the said reset and intertainment; and they being convicted therefore, that they shall be warded, aye and while they find sufficient caution to abstain from the like reset or intertainment, in any time coming, under a certain pain; without prejudice of any action that may be competent against their Husbands, conform to the Lawes of this Realme.

Item, Because the special cause of increase of Papistrie proceedeth from the not putting to execution of the Statuts and Acts of Parliament, made against Trafficking Papists, Jesuits and Seminarie Priests; that therefore a Supplication be directed to his Majestie, that it would please his Highness to take such order, that the lovable Lawes, and Acts of Parliament, made by his Majestie in times bypast against Papists, Jesuits and Seminarie Priests, may be put in execution, in all time coming, with all severitie.

Item, It is ordained, that the whole names of Papists recusants, within this Realme, be given-in by the Commissioners of this present Assembly, to the Clerk, to be delivered by him to the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, conform to their several Provinces, to the effect they may be called and conveened before them in the High Commission, and punished as accordeth, without prejudice alwayes of other Ecclesiastical censure, and discipline of the Kirk, statuted against them before.

Item, It is ordained, that every one of the Ministry give up the names of such of their Parish, as have past forth of the Countrey, and not found caution for their behaviour, and sincere profession of the Religion, forth of the samine, conform to the Act of Parliament, to the effect they may be called, conveened, and punished conform to the said act.

Item, It is ordained, that the whole names of the persons Excommunicat, which shall be given-up by the Commissioners, be delivered up to the Bishop of every Diocie, who shall deliver a catalogue of names, to every Minister within his Diocie, ordaining every Minister to make publick intimation thereof, at every one of their Parish kirks, upon Sunday, in time of Divine service,

that no man pretend ignorance of the same; charging and inhibiting every one of their Parish, that they neither reset the said Excommunicats, nor intercommune with them; certifying them, if they do in the contrair, they shall be called and conveened as resetters of Trafficking Papists, or Excommunicat persons, and punished for the same.

Item, That in the houses of Noblemen, Barones, Gentlemen, and Burgesses, there be Ordinare Exercise of reading a Chapter, and Prayer for the King's Majestie and his Children after every meal. —(The Archbishop margined this part after this form :—Let this be extracted in these words. *Item*, The Assembly recommends to the care of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Burgesses, that there be Ordinare, &c.")

Decimo quinto Augusti.

Item, Because there are found pamphlets and books full of calumnies, quietly set forth and spread within this Countrey by the Papists and enemies of true Religion : Therefore the Assembly hath ordained, that Mr William Scot Minister at Couper, and Mr William Struthers Minister at Edinburgh, shall make answer to the said books and pamphlets, to the effect that thereby the people may be instructed how to beware of the samine, and the said errours and calumnies may be refuted.

Item, Because we are certainly informed, that certain women take upon them to bring up the youth in reading, and sowing, and other exercises in Schooles ; under pretext and colour whereof, Trafficking Papists, Jesuits, and Seminarie Priests have their appointed times of meeting; at which times they Catechize and pervert the youth, in their young and tender age, in such sort, that hardlie thereafter, by great pains and travel, can they be brought from their errours to the acknowledging of the truth, presently professed within this Realme. It is therefore statute and ordained, that it shall not be leesome to whatsomever person or persons to hold any Schooles for teaching of the youth, or to teach them therein, except first they be tried by the Bishop of the Diocies

and the Presbyteries, where they dwell, and have their approbation to the effect foresaid.—(The Archbishop margineth upon the last words, after this manner:—"Except first they have the Approbation of the Bishop of the Diocie, and be first tried by the Minister of the Exercise where they dwell, &c.")

Item, Because there was a great abuse in people passing to Pilgrimages to wells, trees, and old chappels; as likewise in setting up of bonefires, therefore it is ordained, that the Brethren of the Ministry be diligent in teaching of the people, and preaching against such abuses and Superstition, to the effect they may be recalled from the said errours: As likewise, that the Ministry take diligent trial of the names of those who haunt the said pilgrimages, and to delate the same to the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, every one within their own Provinces, to the effect they may be called before the High Commission, and punished for the same. It is likewise ordained, that their names be delivered to the Justices of Peace, with the places of their Pilgrimages, and dayes of their meeting; and that they be requested and desired to attend upon the said dayes of their meetings, and to disturb and divert them therefrom, by apprehending and punishing them.

Item, It is ordained, that every Minister give up the names of idle Songsters within their Parish, to the Justice of Peace, that they may be called and conveened before them, and punished as idle vagabonds, conform to the Acts of Parliament, and power given to the said Justices of Peace thereanent.

Item, Because it is found that diverse of the said Jesuits, Trafficking Papists, and Seminarie Priests go about, under the colour and pretext of Doctors of Physick and Apothecars, deceiving and perverting the people, drawing them from the true Religion professed within this Countrey: therefore, a Supplication would be directed to his Majestie, that it would please his goodness to statute and ordain, that none hereafter be suffered to exerce and use the Office of a Doctor of Physick or Apothecar, while first he have Approbation from the Bishop of the Diocie where he maketh his residence, of his Conformitie in Religion; as likewise from the

Universitie where he learned and studied, of his qualification and sufficiencie in the said art.

The whilk day compeared, in presence of the Assembly, John Gordoun of Buckie, and in the name, and at the direction, of a noble and potent Lord, George, Marquess of Huntlie, presented a petition, directed by the said George, Marquess of Huntlie, to the said Assembly, subscribed with his hand, desiring an answer of the same to be given by the Assembly.

As likewise was produced by [the Bishop of St Andrews,] a letter directed from the Archbishop of Canterberrie, together with an other letter from the King's Majestie concerning the Absolution of the said Lord Marquess, from the sentence of Excommunication made by the said Archbishop of Canterberrie, and ordained to be registered in the Acts of the General Assembly *ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

With the which the Assembly, being ripely advised, have thought it most expedient, that the said Marquess compear in presence of the whole Assembly, there to testifie his conformitie in the points of religion, and resolution to abide thereat; and so to be absolved from the sentence of Excommunication pronounced against him: And, therefore, ordains the said John Gordoun of Buckie, to advertise the said Lord Marquess, that he compear before the Assemblie upon Wednesday next to come, the 21. of August instant, to the effect foresaid: And for the better furtherance hereof, the Assembly hath desired the Lord Commissioner, and Lord Archbishop Moderator, to write their letters to the said Lord Marquess for the cause foresaid.

Decimo Sexto Augusti, 1616.

The said day, the Lord Commissioner for his Majestie produced certain Instructions, directed by his Majestie to the said Lord Commissioner, to be proponed to this present Assembly anent the provision of a remedie for the defection and falling away of many from the truth: whereof the tenor followeth:

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Instructions to the right trustie and our beloved Cousine and Counsellour the Earle of Montrose.

Here are to be insert the Instructions.

[The Instructions referred to are not inserted in the folio 1678, but are contained in the Wodrow edition, vol. vii., pages 227-230.]

Which being read in audience of the whole Assemblie, they gave most humble thanks to his Majestie for the great care and solicitude his Majestie alwayes took for the advancement of the glorie of God, and profession of the true Religion within this his Realme, and holding down and suppressing of Papistrie and Superstition within the same: And as to the said Instructions, the Brethren were ordained to advise therewith till to-morrow.

Decimo Septimo Augusti.

Anent the said Instructions directed from the King's Majestie to this Assembly, the said Assemblie, being ripely advised therewith, hath statute and ordained, as followeth.

In the *first*, Concerning the causes of the defection and falling away of many from the true Religion in this Kingdome, and the remedies thereof, the Assemblie hath set them down in the Articles, made before in this present Convention: And therefore most humbly desireth his Majestie to confirm and allow them, and make them receive execution.

Item, Because the lack of competent maintenance to the Ministers, is the chief cause of the evil, which lyeth upon this Kirk, which for the most part proceedeth from dilapidation of benefices; to the effect therefore, that the progresse of that mischief may be stayed, and some means devised to recover that, which by iniquitie of time had been losed; the Assembly remitteth the trial, cognition, and whole disposition of this matter, to the Commissioners appointed from this Assembly, for the causes underwritten; and in the mean time inhibites, and discharges all Ministers, who are beneficed persons, and others who are members of any Chapter,

to set in Tack and Assedation any part of their Benefices, either in long, or short Tacks, to whatsoever person or persons; or as member of the Chapter, if they consent to any Tacks or Assedations set by others, while the said Commissioners had conveened, and taken order anent dilapidation of Benefices, and form and manner of setting of Tacks, under the pain of Excommunication of the persons, setters of the said Tacks, and consenters thereto; and deprivation of them from their Benefices.

Item, Because the provision of learned, wise and peaceable men to be Ministers at chief Burrow Townes in vacant places, such as Edinburgh, Perth, Aberdeen, Bamfe, and other places vacant, is a most effectual mean to root-out Poperie, and perpetuat the profession of true Religion: It is therefore ordained, that the Burrow Townes be provided with the most learned, wise and peaceable men that may be had. And because the Commissioners for the Town of Edinburgh have no Commission from the said Town, anent the provision of Ministers to the vacant places in the said Kirk: Therefore the care thereof is remitted to the said Commissioners, to whom it shall be enjoyned in their Commission, that they shall see the same performed. And as to Perth, the Assembly ordains my Lord Bishop of Galloway to deal with the Commissioner of the Town of Perth, for provision of that vacant place. And siclike ordaineth the Provost of Aberdeen to advise with the Councel, anent the planting of the said Kirk, to the effect, sufficient and qualified men may be nominat and provided to the said places, before the dissolving of this Assembly.

Item, Because a special care should be had of the places of Noblemen their residence, chiefly of such, who are thought to incline to Popery, the Assembly statutes and ordaines, that the Lords Archbishops, and Bishops, with the advice of their Synods, take care that most learned and discreet Persons of the Ministery, be appointed to attend the said places, and be transported thereto; such as the Kirks of Dumbennen, Northberwick, Cockburnspeth, Paisley, (*blank*) and such other places, where Noblemen make residence, chiefly those who are thought to incline to

Popery; and that they have a care of their maintenance, and sufficient provision: And if the samine be small, that those that are appointed to attend at the said Kirk, carrie their livings and rents with them, while farther order be taken.

Item, Forsameekle as one of the most special means for staying of the increase of Popery, and setling of the true Religion in the hearts of the people, is, that a special care may be taken in the trial of young Children, their education, and how they are catechised; which, in time of the Primitive Kirk, was most carefully attended, as one of the most effectual means to cause young children, in their very tender years, drink in the true knowledge of God and his Religion; but is now altogether neglected, in respect of the great abuse, and errour, which hath creeped-in in the Popish Kirk upon the said ground, by building thereupon a Sacrament of Confirmation; therefore, to the intent, that all Errour and Superstition which have been builded upon the said good ground, may be rescinded and taken away, and that the matter itself, being most necessarie for edification of the youth, may be restored to the own integritie, it is statute and ordained, that the Archbishops and Bishops, in the Visitation of the Kirk, either by themselves, or where they cannot overtake the business, the Minister of the parish, make all young children of six years of age be presented before them, to give the Confession of Faith, that so it may appear in what Religion they have been trained up. After that trial, that the Minister of the Parish, every two or three years once at the least thereafter, re-examine them, that after sufficient growth in knowledge, they may be admitted to the Holy Communion. And it is desired, that a Supplication be directed to the King's Majestie, humbly craving, that it would please his Highness to enjoine a punishment upon such parties as either do not present their children, or shall be found negligent in their right instruction, and that they be called and conveened, therefore, before the High Commission.—(After these words, "That so it may appear in what Religion they have been trained up," the Archbishop addeth, in the margin, "And that they be

recommended to God by solemne prayer at the time, for the increase of their knowledge, and continuance of his grace with them.")

Item, It is statute, that the simple Confession of the Faith underwritten be universally received throughout this whole kingdom, to the which all hereafter shall be bound to swear and set their hand; and, in special, all persons that bear office in the Church at their acceptation of any of the said offices: And likewise students and schollars in Colledges, of the which Confession the tenor followeth.

Here is to be insert the Confession of Faith.

[This is given in the edition 1678, at pages 668-673, and in the Wodrow edition, vol. vii., pages 233-242.]

Item, It is statute and ordained, that a Catechism be made, easie, short and compendious, for instructing the Common sort in the Articles of Religion, which all families shall be subject to have for the better information of their children and servants, who shall be holden to give account thereof in their examination before the Communion. And for the better effectuating hereof, the Assembly hath ordained Mrs Patrick Galloway, and John Hall ministers at Edinburgh, and Mr John Adamson minister at Libbertoun, to form the said Catechism, and to have the same in readiness before the first day of October next to come, to the effect, the same may be allowed, and printed with the King's Majestie's licence: the which Catechism being so printed, it is statute and ordained, that none other be hereafter printed within this Realme, nor used in families, for instruction and examination of their children and servants, nor of the people in time coming.

Item, It is statute and ordained, that an uniform order of Liturgie, or Divine Service, be set down to be read in all Kirks, on the ordinarie dayes of prayer, and every Sabbath day before sermon, to the end the common people may be acquainted therewith, and by custome may learne to serve God rightly. And to this intent, the Assembly hath appointed the saids Mr Patrick Galloway, Mr

Peter Hewat, Mr John Adamsone, and Mr William Areskeen Minister at [Denino] to revise the book of Common prayers, contained in the Psalme book, and to set down a Common form of Ordinarie Service, to be used at all times hereafter; which shall be used in time of Common prayers in all Kirks, where there is exercise of Common prayers: As likewise by the Minister before the sermon, where there is no Reader.

Item, It is statute and ordained, that in all time hereafter, the Holy Communion be celebrated in all Kirks within this Realme, at the times following, viz. in Burrow Townes, the Communion shall be celebrat four times in the year, and twice in the year in Landwart Kirks; so that one of the times, as well in Burgh, as in Landwart, shall be at the terme of Easter yearly: And if any person shall not Communicat once in the year, at any of the foresaid times, that it be humbly required of his Majestie, that the penaltie of the Act of Parliament may be exacted of such persons, with all rigour.

It is thought most necessare and expedient, that there be an uniformitie of Church Discipline, throughout all the Kirks of this Kingdom; and to that effect it is ordained, that a Book of Canons be made, and published in print, drawn forth of the books of the former Assemblies; and where the same is defective, that it be supplied by Canons of Councels and Ecclesiastical Conventions, in former times. The care whereof the Assembly by these presents committeth to the right Reverend James Archbishop of Glasgow, and Mr William Struthers Minister at Edinburgh, who shall put in form the said Ecclesiastical Canons, and presente them to the Commissioners appointed by this Assembly, to whom power is given to try, examine and allow the samine: And after their allowance and approbation thereof, to supplicat his Majestie that the same may be ratified and approven by his Royal Authoritie, with priviledge to put the same in print.

Item, It is statute and ordained, that for the help of the Posteritie, and to continue the light of the Gospel with the ages to come, the Divinitie Colledge founded in St Andrews, which

should be the seminarie of the Kirk, within this Realme, be maintained and upholden, and a special care taken thereof. And because the rent thereof is mean for the present, it is ordained, that for the provision of some students in Divinitie, every Diocie shall intertain two; or according to the quantitie of the Diocie, so many as the number may arise to twenty-six in the whole, respect being had to the meanness of some Diocies, and greatness and power of others, so that the least Diocies in their contributions shall be helped and eased by the greater: Of the which number it is ordained, that the half at least be the sonnes of poor Ministers, and be presented by the Bishop of the Diocies to the place.

Item, The Assembly ratifieth and approveth the former Act made in the Assemblie, holden at Halyrudhouse the tenth day of November 1602, anent the Sacrament of Baptism, that the same be not refused, if the Parent crave the same, he giving Confession of his Faith, upon any other particular pretence of delay to time of preaching; with this extension and addition, that Baptism shall no way be denied to any infant, when either the Parents of the infant, or any faithful Christian in place of the parent, shall require the same to the infant; and that the same be granted any time of day, without any respect or delay till the hour of preaching.

Item, It is ordained, that every Minister have a perfect and formal Register, wherein he shall have registred the particulars of the Baptism of every infant within his Parish, and who were witnesses thereto: The time of the marriage of every person within the same; and the special time of the burial of every one deceasant within their Parish; and that they have the same in readiness, to be presented by every one, at their next Synodal Assemblie, under the pain of suspension of the Minister, not fulfilling the same, from his Ministry. And it is desired, that the said Commissioners, in their Supplication directed to his Majestie, would humbly crave, that his Majestie would ordain, the extract forth of the said Registers to make faith, in all time coming:

And who so observeth this Act, the Archbishops and Bishops shall let them have the Quots of their Testaments gratis.

Acta Sessione ultima.

The which day, in presence of the whole Assembly, compeared a noble and potent Lord George Marquess of Huntlie, and declared, that he had directed of before John Gordoun of Buckie, to present his Supplication to this present Assembly, likeas of new he reiterates the said Supplication, declaring the sorrow and grief he had conceived, in that he had lyen so long under the fearful sentence of Excommunication: And therefore most humblie desired to be absolved from the same. Likeas he faithfully promised, in face of this whole Assembly, to perform and fulfil the heads and conditions under-specified. *Viz. First*, The said noble Lord faithfully promised before God, his hand holden up, to professe, and abide by the true Religion, presently professed within this Realme, and allowed by the Lawes, and Acts of Parliament of the same. 2. He faithfully promised to communicat, at the first occasion he should be required, and so to continue conform to the Order of the Kirk. 3. He shall cause his Children, Servants, and whole Domesticks be obedient to the Kirk and Discipline thereof, and should cause them haunt the Kirks at the ordinare times of preaching. 4. He shall not receive Papists, Jesuits, nor Seminarie Priests in his house, or in his lands; but put them out of his bounds with all diligence. 5. He alloweth the Confession of the Faith, presently set down by the said Assembly, and in token of his constant Confession and Profession thereof, hath subscribed the same, in presence of the whole Assembly. Which whole promises above specified, the said noble Lord protests and declares, that he had made, and subscribed truely, and with an honest heart, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or subterfuge whatsoever, devised by the Romish Kirk and their Supposts. Attour, The said noble Lord faithfully promised to plant his whole Kirks, whereof his Lordship hath the teynds in tack, possession, or otherwise, at the sight and conclusion of my

Lord Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishop of Murray, and the Laird of Corse, unto whose modification the said noble Lord submitted himself by the tenor of these presents, giving them power to modifie compleat Stipends to the said Kirks; and as they shall be modified by them, he oblidgeth him to make payment of the same to the Ministers provided, or to be provided to the said Kirks.

And in respect of the premises, the Assembly ordained the noble Lord to be absolved from the sentence of Excommunication, led and deduced against him before: Conform whereto, the right Reverend Father John Archbishop of Saint Andrews Moderator, in face of the whole Assembly, absolved the said noble Lord George Marquess of Huntlie, from the Sentence of Excommunication, led and deduced against him, and received him in the bosome of the Kirk.

This leafe, or page following, was loose among the Acts of this Assembly, and had no reference to any Day or Session specified. The Scrolles bear this date, the Assembly at Aberdeen the 13. *of August.*

The whilk day the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, presently conveened, having entered in the consideration of the causes of the defection and falling away of many from the true Religion, and having found the lack of the competent maintenance to Ministers, not to be the least cause of the evils, which lie upon this Kirk presently; the ground and foundament whereof, for the most part, hath proceeded from the dilapidation of Benefices, with the which if some solide order be not taken in time, the same is apparent to bring forth greater evil, and desolation in this Kirk. And seeing the King's Majesty hath required, that order may be taken with the said dilapidations: Therefore, in respect the same cannot be suddenly done, but will require a long and mature deliberation, the Assembly hath given, granted and committed, likeas they, by the tenor hereof, give, grant and commit their full

power and commission to the Brethren under-written, they are to say, the Reverend Fathers in God, John Archbishop of St Andrews, James Archbishop of Glasgow, Alexander Bishop of Dunkelden, (*a name left blank*), Alexander Bishop of Murray, Patrick Bishop of Ross, William Bishop of Galloway, Andrew Bishop of Brechin, Andrew Bishop of Orknay, Alexander Bishop of Cathness, Adam Bishop of Dumblane, Andrew Bishop of Argile, Andrew Bishop of Isles, Patrick Forbes of Corss, George Douglas Minister at Cullon, Mr John Reid Minister at Logie-Buchan, Mr George Hay Minister at Tureff, Doctor Henrie Philip Minister at Arbroth, Mr David Lindsey Minister at Dundie, Mr William Scot Minister at Couper, Doctor Robert Howie Rector at St Andrews, Mr John Mitchelson Minister at Bruntiland, Mr Patrick Galloway, Mr John Hall, Mr William Struthers Ministers at Edinburgh, Mr Edward Hepburne Minister at Haugh, Doctor John Abernethie Minister at Jedburgh, Mr Robert Scot Minister at Glasgow, Mr William Birnie Minister at Air, Mr William Areskeen Minister at [Denino], Giving, granting and committing, to them, or the most part of them, their full power and commission to conveen at Edinburgh the first day of December, next to come in this instant year of God 1616 years, and there to take order with the dilapidation of Benefices, and to set down solide grounds how the progresse of that mischief might be stayed, and to devise some means to recover, and restore the state of these Benefices, which by iniquity of time hath been losed; and if need be, to call and pursue before them those, who have made the said dilapidations, and punish them therefore; and as they shall conclude, the same to be enacted, and have the force of this present Assembly: With power likewise to the said Commissioners, or the most part of them, as said is, to take order anent the planting of sufficient and qualified pastors, at the Kirks of Burrow Towns, presently vacant, and which are not planted at this present: With power likewise to receive from the right Reverend Father James Archbishop of Glasgow, and Mr William Struthers Minister at Edinburgh, the Canons of Church Discip-

line, committed to their charge, and to revise the same, allow, and disallow thereof; and to direct a Supplication to his Majestie, that it would please his Highness to ratifie, and approve the samine, and approve the printing thereof, by his Authoritie Royal.

These Words following were added by the Archbishop.

Item, Power to receive the books of Liturgie or Divine Service, and the Catechisme, allow and disallow thereof, as they shall think expedient; and the same being allowed, to cause publish the samine in print for the Service, within the Kirks of all the Kingdom: as also to revise the Confession of Faith presented to this Assemblie, and after mature deliberation to take order, that the same may be published: And in all these things to do as they will be answerable to God, and the King's Majestie, and the Church.

Thus far out of the Scrolles, together with the Bishop's additions and alterations.

Page 226, line 23, *not long after this Assemblie.* The Marquess was reserved to make a flourish in the end of the Assembly; And in the mean time there passed many dangerous Acts, besides dangerous Commissions, for setting down a new Liturgie, a new Catechism, and a new Book of Canons for the Church Discipline; and to revise the Confession of Faith presented to this Assemblie, which was penned by Mr John Hall and Mr John Adamsone, and devised of purpose to thrust out the Confession of Faith, subscribed and sworn by all Estates. The Instructions from the King, concerning the Discipline and Policie of the Kirk, were read, and concluded in one Session upon Saturday. [See *supra*, page 102.]

Page 245. [Bishop Cowper's letter is dated March 26, 1617 and there is added:] Ye see here both a purpose to set up images, and with all, how this Bishop flattereth Mr Patrick Simpson.

Page 246, line 6, *the Bishop of St Andrews had a flattering sermon.* The solemnities, which were used at his passing through the Town, I passe by, as not pertinent to the Historie.

Upon Saturday the seventeenth of May, the English service, singing of Quiristers, and playing on Organs, and Surplices were first heard and seen in the Chappel Royal.

Page 253, line 22, *to discharge his commission.* For Mr Peter [Hewat, not Ewart, as in the Wodrow edition], had place to sit in Parliament, as Abbot of Corsragual. *When the Lords*, &c.

Page 286, line 9, *the Articles were rather remitted to further inquirie, than any thing perfytlie concludit.*

[The blank that follows in the Wodrow edition, is thus supplied, in the folio 1678, page 690.] Yet I have here subjoined so much as I have found in the Clerk's Scrolles.

Acts, Saint Andrews, 1617.

If any good Christian, visited with long sickness, and known to the Pastor, by reason of his present infirmitie, unable to resort to the Church, for receiving of the Holy Communion; or being sick shall declare to the Pastor upon his Conscience, that he thinketh his sickness to be deadly, shall earnestly desire to receive the same in his house, the Minister shall not deny the same; so as lawful warning be given to him, at the least twentie four hours before, and that there be six persons at least of good Religion and Conversation, free of lawful impediment, present with the sick person to receive; who must also provide a convenient place in his house, and all things necessare for the Minister's reverent administration thereof, according to the order prescribed in the Church.

To remeed the irreverent behaviour of the vulgar sort, in receiving the Holy Communion, it is found meet by this Assembly, that the Minister himself shall in the celebration give the elements out of his own hand to every one of the Communicants, saying,

when he giveth the bread, "Take! Eat, this is the bodie of the Lord Jesus Christ, which was broken for you; do this in remembrance of him:" And that the Minister exhort them to be thankful. And when he giveth the cup, "Drink, this is the blood of Jesus Christ shed for you; do this in remembrance of him:" And that the Minister exhort them to be thankful. And to the end the Minister may give the same the more commodiously, he is by advise of the Magistrates, and honest men of his Session, to prepare a table at the which the same may be conveniently ministered, and gravely to exhort his people, that they Communicat reverently, and shew a humble and religious behaviour, in the receiving of the same.

Anent the remanent of the Articles proponed to the Assembly, the Assembly after long reasoning, in special anent preaching upon the dayes of the Nativitie, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension of our Lord, and Descending of the Holy Spirit, having considered, that a great number of Commissioners from Synods, Burrowes, and Gentlemen, in respect of the season of the year, distance of the place, and shortness of the advertisement, would not be present; and that the most part of those, who were assembled, are not resolved fully in some of these points proponed; and that they all are in loyaltie and obedience most willing to give his Majestie all satisfaction, and have agreed and promised to informe themselves anent the said Articles, whereof they presently stand in doubt, and to instruct their People, Elders and Parishoners by all means, that all offence, which may be taken, may be removed, have thought good, that (beside the two points, which are concluded, especially to give remonstrance to his Majestie of their most willing affection) the rest of the said Articles shall be continued to the next Assembly; and to that effect, that a most humble supplication may be directed by his Majestie's Commissioners, and the General Assembly that it may please his Majestie of his gracious favour to grant a continuation, and to convocate an Assembly for decision of the matters, at such commodious times, as his Majestie shall think expedient.

Page 286, line 15. MR ANDREW RAMSAY, HIS INCONSTANCIE. *But now, he is become*, &c.—But afterward he became a defender of them both by word and practice, a bitter and foolish inveigher against all that withstood them.

Page 287-8. MR A. FORBES, BISHOP OF ABERDEEN, HIS DEATH. [This short paragraph, it will be observed, is somewhat different in the arrangement in the two copies.]

Upon the fourteenth of December Mr Alexander Forbes, sometime Bishop of Cathness, but of late Bishop of Aberdeen, departed this life in Leith. Fain would he have uttered some thing to the Bishop of St Andrews. But he being loath to leave his playing at the cardes, howbeit it was the Lord's day, the other departed before he came. The Bishop was nicknamed Collie; because he was so impudent and shameless, that when the Lords of the Session and Advocates went to dinner, he was not ashamed to follow them in to their houses, uncalled, and sat down at their table.

Page 288. [The blank in the Wodrow edition has no reference to the preceding paragraph, and is thus supplied in the folio 1678, p. 691.]

THE CONSTANT PLATT.

The Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to see the plantation of Kirks, and modification of Minister's stipends, conveened in Edinburgh the first of November, and held their meeting till neer Christmas. Time was protracted, and means were used to move Ministers, with hope of augmentation of their stipends, to condescend to the Five Articles. They dissolved the sooner, because it behoved every Bishop to repair to his own Diocie, and teach upon the Nativitie of Christ, in their Cathedral Kirks, upon the twenty-fifth of December, as the King had directed them.

Page 288, line 20. *Mr William Couper, Bishop of Galloway, preached as Deane* of the Chappel-Royal in the Chappel, where there

was playing upon Organs. So the Bishops practised novations, before ever they were embraced by any General Assemblies. And therefore ought to have been secluded from voting afterward in that matter, and condignly censured.

Pages 290-291. A PROCLAMATION FOR OBSERVING OF HOLY DAYES.—[After a brief notice of this Proclamation, there is added:]—Here ye see observing Holy dayes commanded, notwithstanding the General Assemblie had not yet consented; and Acts of Parliament against them were standing yet unrepealed.

Page 296, line 22. *Yet in his last Diocesan Synode, holden this year*, (1627), *howbeit the King, &c.*—In the Diocesan Synod holden after in the year 1627, when the King *did urge*, &c.

Page 298, line 6. *The Bishops forbad, &c.* The Bishop desired such as were present not to scarre from communicating, for the offering which they were to give. So the Bishops practised the Ceremonies, as occasion offered, before the General Assembly had determined upon an answer to the King.

Page 307, line 25; *would take his place.* No farther reply was made to him, for fear of trouble.

Page 311, line 20. *After the reading of the King's letter, the Bishop, &c.*—After the reading of this expostulatorie Letter, which I will not now examine, and answer particularly, the Bishop of St Andrews *had a speech*, &c.

Page 312, line 3. *But the letter was neither read nor seen.* And the man himself hath given proof since, how averse he is from conformitie. O, said the Bishop, *I know*, &c.

Page 316, line 29. The King's letter, and his discourse second-

ing it, were more sharpe, and fuller of terrors then they are here set down. But being forced to bring them forth to light, they have tempered them: Yet ye see how sharpe they are. *The Ministers, defenders of, &c.*

Page 324, line 12. *Boasting and posting confoundit all*, and cut short: For the King's chief Commissioner and the Bishops resolved to end all, at this Session.

Page 339, line 20. Here ye have a minut, and the meaning of the Acts of Perth Assembly, which ye shall see after set down in ample forme, when we come to their ratification in Parliament. Observe here, that cessation from all kind of labour and handy-work, upon the five days abovewritten, is commanded, which was not required in the Act of Perth.

Page 339, last line. *Mr Johne Knox*, minister at Melrose.

Page 340, line 3; *he urged*—the Bishop urged.

Page 348, line 17. *Seldom does he preach or pray publictlie, &c.* [These words are omitted, Struthers having died in November 1633, and there is added:] His calumnies concerning the 17. day of December, ye may see confuted, in the preceding Historie.

Page 350, line 28. *In his bedchamber at his bedside.* It is reported that he [Bishop Couper] cried often before his death, when his conscience was stirring, "*a fallen star*," "*a fallen star*:" But he became more senselesse, would follow or answer the words of others, and then fall off incontinent from any spiritual purpose. *If his end had been gracious and comfortable there had been a loud report made of it.*

Page 355, line 8. *Commissarie.* So Mr Richard [Dickson], notwithstanding of his many young Children, was not pitied;

But the other was spared through moyen and acquaintance he had among the chief of the Bishops, and for the assurance or hope they had, he would yeeld when they urged him. And indeed he was in secret busie perverting some Professors.

Page 377, lines 15-19. [This attestation by Thomas Hogg, in 1627, is wholly omitted in the edit. 1678.]

Page 378, line 26, *Always there was noe mitigation could be had.* If he [Mr Andrew Duncan] had called them Esaues, Balaams and Judases, he had not lyed. What was their proceeding against him before he came to this Admonition, and what were his defences, I have not learned.

Page 389, line 12, *because it was the King's will;* that is, they professed themselves to be slaves.

Page 390, line 3, *but few or none were delivered,* and none at all burnt.

Page 396, line 18. *This was the reward* he [Doctor Lindsay] got for his book entituled "Resolutions for kneeling," which was answered soon after, in the book entituled, "Solutions of Doctor Resolutus his Resolutions for kneeling."

Page 438, line 20, *in Mr Pape's* house—in Mr John Pope's house.

Ib. line 21. MR P. GALLOWAY'S SPEECH.

Mr Patrick Galloway, in his sermon at Easter, and the Sabbath-day preceding, commended the gesture of kneeling in receiving the elements of the Supper, as the most humble gesture, and best warranted: And for his warrant cited the xcv. Psalm. Phil. 2. And the kneeling of Christ in the garden, when he did sweet blood. And notwithstanding his reasons were frivolous; yet he

could not contain himself from provocation and invectives, whereby he *procured these lines following to be sent to him.*

Page 439, line 10. Direction was sent down from the King, in the beginning of April, to confine certain Citizens of Edinburgh, for assisting refractory Ministers in all their disobedience, and countenancing them in all their public doings; specially in accompanying them when they were cited before the High Commission, thereby encouraging them to stand out against the orders of the Kirk, in contempt of authoritie. Whereupon the persons following, nominat in the King's letter, *were charged upon the 25th April, &c.*

Page 450, line 23. *Chancellor Setoun* would have shifted the matter, alleging that the Bishops had a High Commission of their own to try these matters. Secretarie Hammiltoun, after his accustomed manner, answered, "Will ye reason, whether his Majestie should be obeyed, or not?" Chancellor Setoun answered, "We will reason, whether we shall be the Bishops' hang men, or not." *So the matter was, &c.*

Page 451, line 11. *Upon the Tuysday following, Mr Sydserf inveighed*—Upon the Thursday following, Mr Thomas Sidserf, a man of a violent spirit, inveighed, &c.

Page 453, line 14. *He began, continued and ended* with these and the like odious imputations. He was sometimes of another minde: But now when he had need of a Bishoprick to repair his broken Lairdship, he verified the old saying in his own person, *Omnis Apostata osor sui ordinis.*

Page 454, line 10. *When it was concluded in the Session, that there should be preaching in the Grayfrier Church*, which was new builded, upon the Lords day following, which was the 17. of December. Mr Patrick Galloway alleged, it was a dismal day to

begin preaching, in that new builded Kirk. So he harped maliciously upon the tumult, raised in Edinburgh the 17. day of December, howbeit their innocencie was cleared after exact trial and examination. If there had been any guiltiness, it became not their Pastors to be so bloodie mouthed. But such was their despight at the best professors; because they would not temporize and conforme as they did, whereby they thought themselves disgraced, that they could not be satisfied: Whereas it should have been their joy to see the constancie of their flock.

Page 461, line 5, *came to Mr Struthers*, he confessed the five Articles which had bred this rent in the Kirk, were hatched by the Jesuits.

Page 469, line 28, *the Marquess of Hamilton* directed from Court to be grand Commissioner in Parliament, *came to the Palace of Holyroodhouse.*

Page 496, line 26, *tymouslie remembered by* * * * *that they might* —tymouslie remembered by one, to the end they might.

Page 506, line 12. During the time of the Parliament, the people called to remembrance those old Propheticall rhimes, which concerned the Marquess of Hammiltoun's House, and had them frequent in their mouthes.

O wretched Scot, when Kedyow *turnes thy King*, &c.

Page 509, line 8. This letter, as many other of that kinde, no doubt, was procured by the Bishops themselves, if not also devised, and penned by them, and sent up to Court to be subscribed.

Page 511. *Mr John Welsh* after fourteen years banishment, was forced to returne out of France, by reason of a grievous disease which seized upon him. He came to Campheir, in *Zealand, from whence he sent*, &c.

Page 515, line 4, *upon the 22d of November*—Upon the 22d of October.

Page 543, line 7, *and his corrupt disposition*, which he concealed not in his very first Sermon, before he was admitted. As he came in unorderly, so he went out within five or six years after.

Page 553, line 8. Spotswood Bishop of Saint Andrews, Law Bishop of Glasgow, Patrick Bishop of Aberdeen, Andrew Bishop of Galloway, Patrick Bishop of Ross, John Bishop of Cathness, sat this day in the High Commission, and deerned in manner foresaid. Mr John Abernethie Bishop of Cathness, a Diocie in the North, and continuing still Minister of Jedburgh, a burgh in the South, carried an inveterat malice against the said George: because he ever opposed to his corruptions, both in Presbytery, and out of the Presbytery. And therefore he procured this unjust sentence against him. The said George [Johnston, minister of Ancrum,] continued notwithstanding preaching *every Lord's day, not knowing*, &c.

Page 557, last line. *So the Bishop of St Andrews*, a proud aspiring Prelate, and sundrie others, *were disappointed*.

Page 562, line 8, and 563, line 29. This flowed from some directions, given by the King to the two English Archbishops, in the beginning of August, to preachers, when Papists and Arminians, poysoning and infecting the people, must not be medled with in Sermons by invectives, nor the points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or the Universalitie, Efficacie, Resistibility or Unresistibility of God's Grace, be taught, in any popular auditorie. But this Act of the Synod was not, so far as I understand, obeyed.

Page 565, line 1. The hard hearted Bishop wrote this *answer at the end of the letter*.

Page 566, line 2. THE KING OFFENDED AT MR ROBERT BOYD'S ADMISSION.

Upon the 23d of December the Provost, &c.—Upon the 13. of December, the Provest, Bailiffs and Council of Edinburgh, were challenged by a Letter from the King, for admitting Mr Robert Boyd, who had been many years a Professor at Saumer in France, and here at home of late at Glasgow, to be Principal of their Colledge; and commanded them to urge him to conform, or else to remove him. They sent to Court to the Courtier, who sent the challenge in the King's name, and desired him to intreat his Majestie not to take in evil part Mr Robert's admission, in respect of his gifts, and peaceable disposition.

Page 567, line 3. *The Bishop of Glasgow, and Mr John Cameron*, sometime a Professor in France, but then a Professor at Glasgow, *with their associates, examined Mr Robert Blair*, &c.

Page 569, line 7. *Which was presently put in execution*, notwithstanding they wanted the warrant of any General Assembly, or of any continued practice of the form, in times bypast since the Reformation: But such was the iniquitie of the time, that the authoritie of our General Assemblies, which were worn out of use, and the customes of our Kirk, were not regarded by temporizing Ministers.

Page 580, line 18. A MEETING FOR ELECTION OF A MINISTER.

Upon the 18. of November, there was a meeting of the Old and New Council of Edinburgh, for leeting of three Ministers to be heard, and thereafter one of them to be chosen to the vacant place. The whole honest inhabitants were warned upon the Sabbath-day immediately preceeding out of the pulpits, to come to the said meeting. But when they conveened, Mr Thomas Sydserf, Moderator for the present of the meeting, desired, that no man there should be proponed, but such as might be had, *viz.*, Conform Ministers. Before the reading of the rolles of the

Council and Session, James Cathkine, Stationer, and one of the Masters of the Hospital, objected that there was no necessitie of a leet for a vacant place, seeing Mr Andrew Cant was orderly and formerly called and chosen by common consent, both of the Kirk Session, and Council old and new, and of all the Inhabitants that were present at that meeting: And that when Mr William Forbes his election was opposed unto by sundrie good Christians, some of the Ministers themselves put them in hope, that the bringing-in of Mr William Forbes *would prepare a way*, &c., [see page 582.]

Page 598, line 20. *Johne Meine* * * * *having craved*—John Meine, merchant, having craved.

Page 598, line 30. *But it was answered as before*, that a publick offence craveth a publick rebuke: And yet they had only sought their judgment, and advice how to handle the matter. The Ministers never made intimation to the people after this day, to conveen upon the Tuesday before the Communion, which was a custome observed since the Reformation, and for good ends, to try variances among neighbours, and to remove all eye-lasts, which the people apprehended, or perceived in their Pastors; or causes of miscontentment, which the Ministers might conceive at the people. The people never took upon them the judgment of jurisdiction, to censure any of their Ministers for their doctrine. Yet according to the judgment of discretion, which all good Christians ought to have, in trial of doctrine, it was permitted to them to declare freely what offended them. And yet this simple judgment of discretion cannot the new Ministers endure patiently. *Upon Thursday*, &c. [See page 599, line 2.]

Page 600, line 16, *imported a very grievous complaint.* In the mean time they never challenge Mr Forbes, for the words laid to his charge, nor suffer him to be tried for the same; wherein they bewrayed great corruption.

Page 602, line 23. *But he was not called.* The Bishop had a minut of interrogatories for every one that was to be examined, furnished, no doubt, by the Ministers of Edinburgh, who understood best how to examine every one of them particularly.

Page 604, line 6. *We are well quite of him.* He meant Mr Hubert, an English preacher.

Page 607, lines 21-23. This course was devised to the King by the Bishop of St Andrews, or the Bishop of Dumblane, or both, as is reported: Because they gaped for the fines, or some budds. *When the Lords perceived*, &c.

Page 608, line 6. *John Smiler.* John Sinclare.

Page 608, line 22. *John Dickson answered, that he simplie * * * and knew not wherein he said wrong.*—John Dickson said farther, he knew not wherein he had said wrong. *If he had erred*, &c.

Page 614, line 23. *For the pulpits of Edinburgh sounded all the contrary way.* But that they abstained from hearing the word preached, that they had privat meetings many times at the ordinary houres, when their own Pastors were preaching in their Parish Kirks, or that they assumed to their Conventions the name of Congregation, are meer forgeries. As for the fear of damnable Sects of Arminians, Anabaptists, &c. We had an evident proof that day, that the Government of Prelats is a shelter for damnable Sects: For Arminian preachers possessed the most eminent places, and were not only tolerated, but also countenanced; because they maintained in publick Doctrine the power, which our Prelats had usurped.

Page 620, line 21, *as of the Brownists, Waderdowpers, and sic-like.* As of Brounists, Watterdippers, &c. *And that they had their private Conventicles.*

Page 624, line 25, *this Counsell day, the 22d of September.*—In Council, the 20. of September.

Page 624. MR ROBERT BRUCE RETURNETH FROM INVERNESS.

He proposed to goe back to his confine, unless he obtained a prorogation.—But the winter being driven over, and the King dying in March, he was not urged to return backe, and he continueth teaching, where he can have occasion, to this houre.—He proposed to go back to Inverness, where the Council granted him a prorogation. The King departing this life, he was not urged to return to his confinement, but continued still teaching where he might have occasion, till August 1631. That it pleased the Lord to call upon him: At which time he departed in peace of bodie, and peace of minde, the 77. year of his age, and was honorably buried, accompanied with four or five thousand to the grave.

Page 629, line 27. *A dispute against communicating where there was kneeling*, confusion of gestures and actions. "The Course of Conformity" was set forth two years before, and the Latine book entituled, "Altare Damascenum;" and other two years before, "The Speech of the Kirk to her beloved children;" "The Altar of Damascus," in English, and the "Confutation of Doctor Mitchelson's Reasons for kneeling." "The Antithesis between the Pastor and the Prelat," came not to light till four or five years after this.

Page 631, line 26, *they had procured* the King's letter for *augmentation of their yearly Stipends.* They had more by the half, than their worthie predecessors: Yet were not satisfied. *The people*, &c.

Page 632, line 32, *sought any farther prorogation*: And so an end was put to their troubles at this time. [In the edit. 1678, the date, 20th of September 1626, in the last line of this page is omitted].

Page 638. [The following brief notice of the funerals of King James, on the 7th May 1625, forms the conclusion of the History in the edition of 1678:]

The Funerals of King James were continued till the seventh of May. The funeral night was so tempestuous with thunder and rain, at London and about, that the like passed the remembrance of any living in our times.

At the conclusion of the abridged copy of his History, (pages 816 to 838 of the edition 1678,) Calderwood has inserted a series of notes from the Acts of the General Assemblies, between 1560 and 1602, with the following title and preliminary notice:—

ACTS CONCLUDED, ARTICLES PETITIONED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES, AND QUESTIONS SOLVED BY SUCH, AS WERE DEPUTED TO THAT EFFECT, NOT INSERT IN THE PRECEDING HISTORIE.

I have in the preceeding Historie only insert such Acts, Articles, and answers to questions, as belonged to the scope of the Historie, and form of Church Government, some few excepted touching corruptions in the Worship of God, or the office and calling of Ministers. But because there are other Acts and Articles necessarie to be known, I have selected such as are of greatest use, passing by such as were temporarie, or concerned only temporarie Offices, or ordering of Ministers stipends: As also many Acts made, and Articles presented to the King and Estates against Jesuits, Seminarie Priests, Trafficking Papists, Hearers of Masse, &c., of which ye have alreadie what is sufficient, in the former storie.

CALDERWOOD'S HISTORY.

NOTICE OF A MANUSCRIPT VOLUME DATED IN THE YEAR 1636.

Among the collection of Wodrow's Manuscripts in the Advocates Library, is a First Volume of Calderwood's History, numbered, "Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. VIII." It is written in a remarkably neat small hand, and consists of 242 leaves, not paged, ending with an account of the death and burial of John Knox, in November 1572, and having on the last page a rude drawing of the Reformer, copied evidently from the old print in Verheiden's Portraits, 1602, in the "*Vera Effigies Jo: Knoxii Scoticanæ Ecclesiæ Apostoli,*" with the following lines underneath:—

Scotorum primum te Ecclesia Knoxe, docentem
Audiit, auspiciis estque reducta tuis:
Nam te cœlestis pietas super omnia traxit,
Atque reformatæ Relligionis amor.

The volume contains the following title, enclosed with an elaborate border of black lines, drawn in the form of a labyrinth. The two lines preceding the date, which are here printed in italics, have for some reason been very carefully deleted.

The Historie of the Church of Scotland, collected out Maister Knox his Historie, and his Memorialles gathered for the continuation of his Historie, out of Mr James Melvill his Observations, Mr John Davidson his Diarie, the Acts of the Generall Assemblies, and Acts of Parliament, and out of severall Proclama-

tions, and scrolles of divers, and comprehendeth an Historie from the beginning of the raigne of King James the Fifth, which was the 23. of Februar the year from our Lord's Incarnation 1514; unto the 25. of June 1603, being the 36. year of King James the Sixt his raigne, who at the same time received the Crowne of England.

Veritas Temporis filia.

Written by Christicola, in the palace situat in the garden of Knowledge, where Truth and a good Conscience have their dailie residence.

Anno Dom. 1636.

From the above title we may conclude that this copy of the History had been comprised in two volumes. The chief portion of this first volume corresponds with the larger manuscript, and consequently any separate collation is not required. In order to avoid unnecessary divisions and repetitions occasional references or extracts will be made from it in the next division.

* Wodrow has not mentioned where he obtained this volume; but on the fly-leaf, he has written the following memorandum: "When I consider my Lord Polton's five volumes of Calderwood's MS., as it is plain the first three of them are Mr Calderwood's first draught, and the other two the second draught, (see my note at the beginning of vol. iii. of my copy of them), so since this volume is not paged (as seems to be imported in blank pages in Mr Calderwood's advertisement) and not at all hitting with my Lord Polton's volume iv., beginning with p. 757, by twelve years intervall, viz. from 1572 to 1584: It is probable that this here is the first volume of the third draught, spoken of by Mr Calderwood in his advertisement (other copy, p. 1.) And it's evident enough this is an originall, for it's the same hand with my Lord Polton's five volumes, and the hand of Mr Calderwood's amanuensis, as appears by his original letter, my MS. Fol. vol. xxv. no. 34."

It must be confessed this note is not very explicit, except that it indicates that the handwriting corresponds with the MS. volumes now in the British Museum; and that Wodrow supposed it to be the copy which the Author had designed for publication as his third and abridged "draught." This, however, is a mistake; but the volume is written with so much care, that it may be questioned whether, in printing the work, this MS. should not have been preferred.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND COMPILED BY MR DAVID CALDERWOOD.

I. Manuscripts in the British Museum.

On the fly-leaf of the larger manuscript of Calderwood's History the author has inserted the following memorandum:—

"This work, comprehended in [3136] pages, is collected out of Mr Knox his History, and his Memorials gathered for the continuation of his History: out of Mr James Melvill his Observations; Mr Johne Davidson his Diarie; the Acts of the Generall Assemblies, and Acts of Parliament; and out of severall Proclamations, and scrolls of divers; and comprehendeth an History from the beginning of the reign of King James the Fifth to the death of King James the Sixth; but is contracted and digested in better order in a work of three volumes, bound in parchment, and comprehended in 2013 pages; out of which work contracted, is extracted another contracted in lesser bounds, wanting nothing in substance, and comprehended in [ ] pages, which the Author desireth only to be communicat to others; and this, with the other contracted in three volumes, to serve only for defence of the third, and preservation of the Storie in case it be lost."

This statement clearly proves that Calderwood had completed the History to the death of King James in 1625, previously to 1627, the year in which he appears to have rewritten and contracted the work into the three volumes comprising 2013 pages, which were followed in the Wodrow Society edition. Of the larger manuscript only the first three volumes are preserved, ex-

tending to the year 1586, and containing 1609 pages closely written.

These volumes after having remained for upwards of a century in the possession of the author's representatives, were presented to the British Museum, by Thomas Calderwood of Polton, Esq.

The volumes are classed among the "Additional Manuscripts," the three volumes of the larger History, as Nos. 4734, 4735, and 4736; the more condensed but complete History, as Nos. 4737, 4738, and 4739.*

II. Manuscript in the University Library, Glasgow.

This manuscript is carefully and neatly transcribed in six volumes folio. Volume I. contains pp. 902; vol. II., pp. 614: vol. III., pp. 829; vol. IV., pp. 428; vol. V., pp. 671; and vol. VI., pp. 537; in all 3981 pages. Bishop Nicolson, in his Scottish Historical Library, has given a short abstract of the work from this copy, which he describes as "the Author's entire work; in six fair volumes in folio, in the library at Glasgow; Mr W. Dunlop, (the late Principal of the College), having procured a transcript of the whole, for the use (and at the expense) of the community."†

On the supposition that this copy exhibited the larger History in a complete state, and that an accurate collation of it would be very important, application was made to the Senate, about two years ago, for this purpose. The use of the manuscript was readily granted, in so far as permitting free access to it, in the Library, for collating or making extracts; but such permission was in fact of no avail, as it would have required a constant residence in Glasgow for several weeks, which was entirely out of the question. Having examined the volumes, however, in a general man-

* See Ayscough's Catalogue of MSS. in the British Museum, vol. i. p. 54. Lond. 1782, 2 vols. 4to.

† Pages 197-203. London, 1702, 8vo.

ner, it appears that they would not have been of the importance that was anticipated. The first half of the manuscript is a transcript of the three volumes of the larger History to the year 1586; the concluding portion, from 1586 to 1625, having been taken from the more condensed manuscript of 1627, and is now superseded by the Wodrow Society edition, which has had the advantage of being printed from the original manuscripts.

On the title-leaf of the first volume is the following memorandum, which ascertains the date of the transcript: "*Ex libris Bibliothecæ Universitatis Glasguensis, propriis Academiæ sumptibus, cum 5 sociis voluminibus, An. Dom.* 1692."

III. Manuscript belonging to the Library of the Church of Scotland.

About the year 1724, the industrious historian, Wodrow, was at the expense of employing an amanuensis "to double" the Glasgow manuscript for his own use. This copy is also in six volumes folio: vol. I. contains pp. 902; vol. II., pp. 646; vol. III., pp. 926; vol. IV., pp. 451; vol. V., pp. 1022; vol. VI., pp. 624. The value of this transcript is considerably enhanced from Wodrow himself, in 1728, having very carefully collated it with the original manuscripts, the use of which he obtained for that purpose through the friendship of Lord Grange, from Sir William Calderwood of Polton, one of the Lords of Session, and grand-nephew of the author.

After Wodrow's death, this manuscript, along with a selection of other manuscripts relating to the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, was purchased from his representatives in 1742, for the Church of Scotland, in pursuance of a resolution of the General Assembly. By the kindness of Principal Lee, I have had the liberal use of the manuscript while preparing the materials for this Appendix.

IV. Manuscript in the Advocates Library.

This is a transcript of no great importance. It forms 15 volumes in 4to; volumes IV. to X., from 1573 to 1586, inclusive, having been supplied within a recent period from Wodrow's manuscript. The transcriber of the supplementary portion, the Rev. James Inglis, (see page 10, note †) has added a copious Index to the work, in a separate volume.

After a minute and careful examination of the several copies it seemed neither to be practicable nor desirable to point out all the successive changes which Calderwood made, in altering, adding, or suppressing, whilst engaged in revising his History. It would at least have required a degree of labour, or involved expense, as well as extent of space, greatly exceeding the bounds of the present volume, and the circumstances under which it requires to be completed. Many of these variations consist of passages transposed, of the phraseology amended, with other changes which would have better served as foot-notes, connected with the pages of the text, than as detached extracts.

I shall therefore follow the same course adopted in regard to the edition of 1678; and, as briefly as possible, take notice of some of the more important additions or alterations; at the same time pointing out some typographical corrections which have occurred to me in the progress of this collation.

VOLUME FIRST

THE PREAMBLE TO THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

[In the MS. 1636, this introductory part is nearly verbatim with the first fifty-five pages of the Wodrow edition. From the remarkably neat, close style of writing it is comprised in twenty-one pages of the manuscript.]

Page 42, line 28. *A Synod was convocated at Stenhelt.* [In the margin of MS. 1636, *Sternhalt is corrected thus*,] Whitby (Bede calleth it Sternshalt,) a religious house in Yorkshire, whereof Hilda, a learned woman, was abbesse.

Page 48, line 23. *Cisterian* (err. for) Cistercian. Ibid. line 28, *your heeles*, (in MS. 1636), your beeles.

Page 49, line 26. Kingstile, (err. in MS. for) King's-Kyle.

[In the larger manuscript the Preamble is called the INTRODUCTION; and although somewhat differently arranged, is much the same in substance. The last paragraph, corresponding with the latter part of that regarding "the Pope's power and usurpation," at pages 46, 47, may be quoted, as somewhat more minute in its details:]—

From this year [1494] wherein the Lollards of Kyle were accused, till the year 1527, we find no mention of any other that was troubled for his religion; and yet the Pope sent this year, 1494, a Protonotarie called Forman into Scotland with a rose and a sceptre of gold to be presented unto the King. This was done, no doubt, to retain and cherish his affectioun to the Church of Rome. In the year 1508, dyed the Bishop of Glasgow, in his

journey to Jerusalem; and to him succeeded James Betoun, son to the Laird of Balfoure in Fife, a cruel persecutor of the saints, as we shall hear hereafter. In the year 1512, in a Provinciall Synod of Bishops, Abbots, and other religious persons at Edinburgh. Bajomanie the Pope's Legat being present, it was ordained, that benefices or priests livings, whose rents did exceed the value of 40 pounds should pay a pension of the tenth to the Pope; and should give to the King, when he required it, such summes as it pleased him to demand; which afterward was called the Bajomane money or tax. In the year 1507, Pope Julius the Second sent an Ambassador to declare him Protector and Defender of the faith, and in sign thereof sent unto him a purple diademe wrought with flowers of gold, and a sword, having the hilts and scabert of gold sett with pretious stones; which were presented to him in the Abbey Church of Holyrudhous, be the said Ambassadour, and the Abbot of Dunfermline.

Page 52, line 32. Ramerius, *read* Reinerius, or Raynerius.

Page 55, line 11, *till the year* 1527. [In the MS. 1656, this date is corrected to 1529, and the following short paragraph, copied from Knox's History, concludes the Preamble:]

Bishop Blacader departed this life going in his superstitious devotions to Jerusalem, in the year 1500. Unto him succeeded Mr James Betoun, sonne to the Laird of Balfour in Fife, a man more carefull for the world than to teach Christ or advise religion. He was afterwards Chancellor of Scotland.

Anno m.d.xiv.

After the death of King James the Fourth, slain at Floddon field, the 9th of September, the year from our Lord's incarnation, 1513, succeeded his son, King James the Fifth. He was crowned at Stirling the 23d of February following, 1514, while, as he was not yet past the second year of his age. After the feeld of

Floddon, the Prelats and the Friers made their commoditie of the commoun calamitie. The Prelats, not contented with their owne functions, sought civill offices, perceaving there was great raritie of noblemen fitt for offices of estate left remaining alive, after the last battell, wherein the flowre of the nobilitie was cutt off. The begging Friers retained the money concredite to their custodie without the presence of witnesses, by these who were slain at the battell; yea, some of them were not ashamed to avouche, that it was ane holie fraud, and that the money could not have beene better bestowed than upoun holie men, who, by their prayers, wold deliver the soules of the deceased out of the grevous paines of purgatorie.

Queen Margaret had been appointed, &c. [See page 57, line 8.]

Page 58, *in so turbulent a time*; and that a new Regent or Governour might be chosen. It is said, William Elphingston, Bishop of Aberdeen, Lord Keeper of the Privie Seal, perceaving that through envy and ambition of the heads of the two factions, the votes of many did incline to John Stewart, Duke of Albanie, remaining at that time in France, deplored the estate of the countrie, the raritie of sufficient men fitt for the government of the countrie; yet consented he that John Stewart should be sent for. The Bishop devysed wayes to King James the Fourth, how he might attaine to great gaine and profit. He advised him to call his Barons and all those that held any lands within the realme, to show their evidents by way of recognition; and if they had not sufficient writings for their warrant to dispone upon their lands at his pleasure: for the which advice he was greatlie hated. But the King perceaving the countrie to grudge, agreed easilie with the possessors.

Page 58, line 10. Alexander, Lord Hume, a man of turbulent spirit, head of the faction opposite to the Queene, and to the Douglasses, was so forward for John Stewart, that he professed openlie in the Convention, that howbeit all the rest would refuse,

he himself should bring him to Scotland, and invest him in the government. He despaired to be preferred to this dignity himself, for he was not beloved of the people. On the other side, he feared the power of the Douglasses would encrease if the government continued in the Queene's person; for they of Liddisdail and Annandail were drawing to their old dependence upon the Douglasses. When by pluralitie of votes it was concluded, that Johne Stewart sould be sent for, it was ordained, that Sir Andrew Wood of Largo sould be sent to him, to France, accompanied with some others, to intimat unto him the decree of the Estates. Before his comming, the countrie being destitut of a Governour, was greatlie disquieted with robberie, slaughters, and oppressioun. Makrobert Strowan, of the surname of Robertson, overranne Atholl and the countries adjacent, accompanied manie tymes with 800 theeves, and sometimes moe. Bot he was at lenth taken and putt to death. None were so turbulent in these trublesome tymes as were the Kirkmen; for after the death of Alexander Stewart, base sonne to King James the Fourth, Archbishop of Sanct Andrews, slain at Floddon Field, there arose three competitors for the bishoprick. Gawin Douglas, father brother to the Erle of Angus, nominate by the Queene, seazed upoun the Castell of Sanct Andrews. Johne Hepburne, Prior of Sanct Andrews, gathered the rents, by way of sequestratioun, during the vacancie of the see; procured the votes of the monkes, to whome he alledged the right of electioun belonged, by vertue of an ancient custome, to be chosen successour to Alexander Stewart. He thrust out the servants of Gawin Douglas, and placed a strong garrisoun in the castell. Andrew Forman, Bishop of Murrey, for the good offices that he had done to Lewes the 12th, King of France, obtained the archbishoprick of Berry. Pope Julius giveth him the Archbishoprick of Sanct Andrews, the Abbacie of Dumfermline and Arbrothe, and beside, maketh him his Legat *a Latere*. Yet durst not anie man publishe his bull, so long as Alexander Lord Hume favoured the Hepburnes. At lenth, the abbacie of Coldinghame was given to David Hume, youngest

brother to Alexander Lord Hume. Then pretendit he a dewtie to Andrew Forman, for that the Formans had beene dependars of the Humes, and caused publishe his bull at Edinburgh. The Prior, Johne Hepburne, plotted what mischief he could devise for the overthrow for the Lord Hume. Forman not being yet certane of Johne Stewart his comming, and considering that he could not be putt in possessioun of the bishoprick by the Humes, becaus their power was not great in Fife, or sufficient to expell the Prior out of the Castell of Sanct Andrews and the Abbey, which he had manned with strong garrisouns, dealt by friends to bring him to a composition. It was transacted, that Forman sould quite to the Prior the rents of the by-past yeeres, which he had lifted in name of sequestration; that he sould resigne unto him the bishoprick of Murrey, and that he sould give him a yeerelie pensioun of 3000 crownes out of the kirk rents, to be distributed at his pleasure among his friends. We may see, what cowping and merchandise was made of kirk rents and benefices, in tyme of Papistrie. This was the estate of the countrie, when Johne Duke of Albanie was sent for, to tak upoun him the governement. It's said, that before any thing was agitat in publike Convention anent his election, that some of his favourers sent to him before, to perswade him, and that he sent Monsieur de la Bautie to Scotland to learne how maters went.

Anno m.d.xv.

John Stuart, sonne to Alexander Stuart, brother to King James the Third, arryved at Dumbarton the 19th of Maij 1515. The 26th of Maij he was received in Edinburgh with great applause. A Parliament was holden the 12th of Julij at Edinburgh, wher he was declared Governour till the King's rype age, and created Duke of Albanie and Erle of March, &c. [See page 58, line 15.]

Anno m.d.xvi.

The Governour was not altogether freed of suspitions and jealousie, notwithstanding of the departure of the Queen, and returning of the Lords. Gavin Douglas, father's brother to the Erle of

Angus, Patrick Panter, serviter to King James the Fourth, and John Lord Drummond, were confined.

Alexander Lord Hume was summoned to compear at a Convention the 12th of Julie 1516. He was denounced rebell, &c.—In the meantime, the Governour went to besiege the Castell of Hamilton, [in MS. 1636, Castell of Edinburgh], which was reduced within two dayes by the procurement of the Contesse of Arran, sister to King James the Third, and mother to the Erle of Arran. The Chamberlane Alexander Lord Hume the meantime maketh sundrie excursions out of the Merce, spoiled the countrie about, and brunt great part of the towne of Dumbarre.

Anno m.d.xvii.

In the beginning of the Spring 1517, John Stuart Erle of Lennox, Nephew to the Erle of Arran by his sister, joyned himself to his faction. They took the Castell of Glasgow; but it was soone after recovered be the Governour. The Erle of Lennox within few dayes after was received in favour, and not long after, first the Erle of Arran, then after him the Chamberlane, but with greatest difficultie of any of them, and upon condition, if he offended afterward, the memorie of his bygane offences should be renewed. The Chamberlane was entysed be many faire promises to come to the Convention which was to be holden the 23d of September, for the Governour had conceived new jealousies, &c. [See page 59, line 16.]

Page 60, after line 4. In a Parliament holden in November [1517], it was againe decreed that the Governour should be reputed for second person of the Realme, notwithstanding of the clame made by Alexander his elder brother begotten on the Erle of Orknayes daughter, which was alledged to be first married to their father before he was married to the Erle of Bulloigne's daughter, on whom he begat the Governour. But they were reconciled, and Alexander renouncing his title was made Bishop of Orkney and Abbot of Skoone. At this Parliament the Gover-

nour asked licence to go to France, and to be absent for six moneths; but it was not granted till Aprile following. [MS. 1636.]

ANNO M.D.XVIII.

The seventh of June 1518, the Governour embarked beside Dumbarton, having *appointed*, &c. [See page 60, line 8.]

When the Queene understood the Governour was gone to France, she returned to Edinburgh the 17th day of June, but was not suffered to see the King till he was removed out of the castell of Edinburgh in August following, for fear of the pestilence, to Craigmillar. But he was soone after brought back againe to the Castell, least the Queene should have conveyed him away.

The Governour had taken, &c. [See page 60, line 12.]

ANNO M.D.XIX.

The Erle of Arran was made Warden of the East Borders in La Bautie's place, wherwith the Erle of Angus was not content. He came to Merce after the Parliament holden in Februar 1519, to besiege the Castell of Hume, Langton, and other places. But the keyes of the Castell of Hume wer brought to him when he was at Lauder. The morrow after, he put men in it, as he did also in Langton and Wedderburne.

In the moneth of June, Mr Gawin Dumbarre Archdeacon of St Andrews and Clerk of Register, was advanced to the Bishoprike of Aberdene.

Pages 60 and 61. *Monsieur de la Bautrie*, (err. for) Monsieur de la Bautie.

ANNO M.D.XX.

Page 63, line 4. In Januar 1520, there was gathering of men betwixt the Erle of Angus and Andrew Ker of Phairnihurst for the bailiferie of Jedburgh Forrest. The Hamiltouns tooke part with Phairnihurst more for hatred of the Erle of Angus, than for any love to the other, &c. [See top of page 61.]

Anno m.d.xxi.

This year the Erle of Angus accompanied with George Hume brother to the late Lord Alexander Hume, and his owne brother the Pryor of Coldinghame, Sir David Hume of Wedderburne, and a number of gentlemen went to the Tolbuith, wher they stayed till the heades of the late Lord Hume, and his brother wer taken downe; which were buried with solemnitie in the Greyfriers. He went from Edinburgh to Sterline hoping to have found the Chancellor Bishop Betoun ther, but he was fled.

The Duke of Albanie returned the 29th of October 1521, and arrived in the west parts, or, as others relate, the 19th of November, and on the 23d he came to Edinburgh, accompanied with the Queene, the Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellor, the Erle of Huntlie, and many other Lords, Barons and Knights. The Erle of Angus was banished to France. The Bishop of Dunkelden was sent for to Rome at the Governour's instance. The Erle returned not till the Duke was deprived of his governement. The Bishop of Dunkelden departed this life the next year at the Savoy in London. He was a good poet in the Scottish meter, as may be seene in the translating of Virgill, his Æneiads. He compiled the Palace of Honour, and some other treatises. The Erle of Angus was in danger of forfaulting, but his Ladie promised him pardon, yet it behoved him and his brother George to passe out of the countrie to France, and to remain there during the Governour's pleasure.

Anno m.d.xxii.

Page 63, line 16. The King of England sent his herald Clarencieux, to require that the Duke might depart, &c. [See page 63, line 17.]

In the beginning of Aprile, the English King sent seven great shippes to the Forth, but wer not suffered to spoyle, and so returned without prey.

Page 64, line 17. The Governour went to France the twentie-

third of October, [1522], having stayed a full year in Scotland. Others relate that he went not before March.

Anno m.d.xxiii.

Page 66, line 3. *The Governour*, &c.—The Duke of Albanie not being able to returne befor August as he promised, because the English King had a navie upon the seas to watch for him, yet he sent before him fyve hundreth Frenchmen in the moneth of June 1523, to encourage the countrie with hope of his tymous returne. These Frenchmen fought with the English lying at the entrie of the Forth, beside the Maye.

While the Duke of Albanie was on the sea returning to Scotland, the Erle of Surrey, generall wardane of the English borders, entered with an armie of ten thousand men, or as others write twentie thousand, and burnt the towne of Jedburgh, but not without great difficultie and losse of some men. Fyve hundreth of their horse affrighted (be what meane it is uncertaine) brack loose in the night, and hurt many within their campe, and therafter ranne as it wer wood, scattered in the fields, wherupon they wer constrained to retire.

This same day that Jedburgh was burnt the Duke landed at Arran, the twentie-two of September; others write that he landed at Kirkcudbright the twentie of September. Before his returne the countrie was devided into two factions. The English King had made sundrie invasions, and had beset the sea to cutt off hope of forrane ayde, and so in a maner assayed to constraine the Scotts to agree to a league. The Lord Hume was taken away by death; the Erle of Angus was banished; such as had withdrawn their affections from the French applied themselves to the Queene. Wherupon shee, to pleasure her Brother, and to draw the governement to herself, persuaded those of her faction to deliver her sonne out of the hands of strangers, and themselves from the present bondage. Shee was now forseeing how to strengthen herself against her owne Husband, whom shee liked not since her returne out of England, yea whom now shee

hated extremlie. The English King did recommend to the Scotish Lords of her faction his sister's good meaning and intention, pretendit he would seek the weill of his Nephew, and defend him so farre as he might: And if he would break the league with the French, and joyne in confederacie with the English, he would bestow his onlie daughter, Marie, upon King James; by which marriage the English would be made subject to the Scots, and not the Scots to the English, and an [in]dissoluble knott made betwixt the two Nations, &c.

[It may be observed, that the whole of this portion of the History relating to civil affairs, until the year 1529, is given much more in detail, both in the MS. 1636, and the larger MS., than in that of 1627. It would occupy, however, too much space to enlarge these extracts.]

Page 73. MARTYRDOM OF MR PATRIK HAMMILTON.

Before I proceed any further I will sett down the martyrdom of Mr Patrik Hammilton, which I have reserved to this place, because I would not break the preceding History of such things as fell out since the King convoyed himself from the custody and government of the Douglasses. It seemeth to me, that he suffered martyrdom after the King had withdrawn himself from the Douglasses, at what time the Hammiltons were their friends, and consequently after the month of Februar, the year of our Lord 1527, according to the account which was then used, when the 25th day of March was holden for the beginning of the year, or 1528, according to the calculation now used: for after that time the King was under the government of the Douglasses; at which time it was not likely that James Betoun, Bishop of St Andrews, was able to execute such cruelty, when the Douglasses, together with the Hammiltons, were the only and chief guiders of the Court; for Mr Patrik Hammilton was the Earle of Arran's brother sonne, begotten on John Duke of Albany his sister, neither is it likely that the Bishop at that time had so great authority, as

to procure the death of the meanest for religion, as it was then called heresy, let be of Mr Patrick, a man of so noble birth; I therefore rather think that he suffered in February 1529, if we begin the year at January, or 1528 if we count from the 25th day of March. But seeing the history itself is certain, we will not dispute curiously upon the precise time.

Master Patrik Hammilton, son to Sir Patrik Hammilton of Kincleaven, captain at Blackness, and brother to the Earle of Arran, was provided to an Abbacy, and was intituled Abbot of Ferne, went about the 23d year of his age to the schooles in Germany, for then the University of Wittenberg and Marpurg were famous. *He became familiar with Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, Francis Lambert,* &c. [See top of page 74.]

Page 77. THE MISERABLE END OF FRIAR CAMPBELL.

There was certaine faithful men of credit then alive, who being present the same time when this worthie Martyre was in the fyre, heard him cite the Black Frier called Campbell, who accused him, to appear before the High God, as generall judge of all men, to answer to the innocencie of his death, and named a certaine day of the next moneth; before which day the Frier died in a phrenzie and desparation, without remorse of conscience. [MS. 1636.]

Page 80. A LETTER OF THANKS SENT FROM LOVAINE TO THE CORRUPT CLERGIE OF SCOTLAND, FOR SHEDDING THE BLOOD OF M. PA. HAMILTOUN.

The Rulers and Doctors of the Universitie of Lovane hearing how that true saint Mr Patrik Hammilton was dispatched by the Bishops and doctors of our realme of Scotland, received such joy and consolation at the shedding of that innocent blood, that they wrote unto the Bishop of St Andrewes, and the rest of his rotten members, this congratulatorie Letter following:—

Your excellent vertue, &c. [See foot of page 80 to page 82.—In M.S. 1636, Calderwood has also added a paragraph, with this title, "An Observation upon the Epistle preceding."]

Page 83, line 10. *William Archbishop*, err. for William Arthe or Arithe: [see Knox's History, vol. i. p. 36.]

Page 86, lines 4 and 7. *Alexander Turnour*, and *Sir John Dungevall*.—[The several MSS. according to Knox's History, from which this portion is copied, read correctly, Alexander Furrour, and Sir John Dingwall. On the same page, Andrew Balsone, (in the MS. 1636, Andrew Bilson,) is a mistake for Andrew Balfour: see Knox's History, vol. i. p. 44, Calderwood having evidently made use of an inaccurate copy of the latter work.]

Page 91, line 1, *his accusers*, (read) his accusers produced.

Page 96, lines 12 and 13. *Doctor Maccabeus*, &c., or as some call him *Makdowall*. [Here Calderwood has fallen into the mistake of confounding two persons: see Knox's History, Wodrow Society edition, vol. i. p. 55, notes 4 and 7, and p. 529.]

Page 97, last line. KING JAMES THE FIFTH TAKETH THE FULL GOVERNMENT UPON HIMSELF.

This year [1528] the King being come to the age of seventeen years, refused to remaine any longer under the government of the Earle of Angus and his companions. He transacted first with his mother for the Castell of Sterline and the lands belonging thereto, it being the safest place whereto he might retire himself. When the Earle and his brother Sir George was absent from Court, about the affairs of the countrie, &c. [See top of page 98.]

Page 101, line 22. *He tooke sanctuarie at Halyrudhouse.*—He retired himself to the girth or sanctuarie of Halyrudhouse. [M.S. 1636.]

Page 102, last line. Sir James Sandilands was sent to the Hermitage in Liddisdaill to represse robbers and theeves.

Page 106. THE KING [JAMES THE FIFTH] ADVANCED TO DEGREES OF DIGNITIE.—The King was this year [1534] adopted to the Order of the Garter, be the English King; the Emperour made him Knight of the Golden Fleece; and shortlie after he was honoured with the Order of St Michael, be the French King. In remembrance whereof he caused the Armes of Scotland, adorned with these three Orders, to be set over the palace gate at Linlithgow, with the ornaments of the honour of St Andrew.

Page 110, line 26. *The Prelates and Priests fearing the fall of their glorie, and trouble of their kingdom*, which then in England begaune to be shaken by suppressing of the Abbeys, and abolishing the Pope's authoritie, flocked to Court. James Betoun, Archbishop of St Andrews, George Crichtoun, Bishop of Dunkelden, weaklie old men, wer drawen to Court, and all to make the King break his promise which he had made to the English King. "*What*," *said the Prelates*, &c.

Page 112, line 7. THE KING TREATETH FOR A NEW MARRIAGE. David Betoun Cardinall, and Robert Lord Maxwell, wer sent soon after to France to treat for a marriage betwixt him and the ladie Marie de Lorain, Duchess of Longevill, widow, and daughter to the Duke of Guise; for he had made choyse of her when he was at the Court of France, in case his ladie Magdalen her dayes wer not prolonged. Others relate, that he sent to the Erle of Murray, and David Betoun, Abbot of Arbroth, whom Paul the Third had made a Cardinall, and the French Bishop of Meropoise, his ambassaders there resident. James Betoun, Bishop of St Andrews, was an old man, and therefor not meet to be a Cardinall: but seeing Buchanan was schoolmaster to the King's bastard bairnes at that time, we rely rather upon his record.

Page 123, line 30, *to doe sacrifice to their idolles.*

The Papistes condemned him [Sir John Borthwick] for an heretick, and his goods to be forfaulted. And becaus they could not

apprehend him, they made a picture of him, and burned it; and cursed every one that should shew any intertainment, favour, or help towards him, and their goods likewise they ordained to be confiscated. Mr Knox, in his Historie, recordeth, that he was brunt in figure for a spectacle and triumph to Marie of Lorane, latelie then arrived from France, and consequently referreth it to this year 1538; yet becaus there is no mention made here of the Bishop of St Andrews, James Betoun, who was then alive, but, in the contrair, he maketh mention, in his Answer to the Fourth Article, of the Cardinall, it appeareth that the processe was led in the year 1540, as Mr Fox hath set it downe. *This worthie Knight ended his age with fulnesse of dayes in St Andrews.*

Page 128, line 33. This information, Mr John Davidson sometime preacher at Saltprestoun, a divine of great note in our Kirk, received from his servant Andrew Kirkie by letter, which he translated in Latine, in his Catalogue of the Scotish Martyres. *He addeth, &c.*

Page 130, line 19. Afterward master to the young King James the Sixt. [The rest of the long paragraph that follows, relating to the latter days of George Buchanan, does not occur in the larger manuscripts in this place.]

Page 133. [The four last lines relating to Florence Wilson, are inaccurately printed; they should read:] He was a learned man, and of great expectation, as Gesnerus gathered, partly from his workes, and farther by conference with him, at Lions, the yeere following, as he maketh mention in his Bibliotheck. When he (that is Florence Wilsone) was in England, &c. [The edition of Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*, in which Wilson, or Volusenus is mentioned, was printed at Tigurum, or Zurich, in 1545, folio.]

Page 135, line 11. *William Lord Ruthven, &c.* His daughter Lilias Ruthven, the Master of Drummond's wife, howbeit shee

had a pearle in the eye of her body, which could not be cured, yet saw shee great light with the eye of her soule, and was a pearle for holinesse, gravitie and wisdom.

Page 135, line 19, *death of his brother*, (read) brether, (or brethren.)—Page 137, line 6, *to curse*, (read) to turse, (or carry.)

Page 143, line 30, *in his own castell of St Andrews*. Mr Robert [Wedderburne] turned the tunes and tenour of many profane ballads into godlie songs and hymnes, which wer called the Psalmes of Dundie. Thereby he stirred up the affections of many.

Page 152, line 10. THE DEATH OF KING JAMES THE FIFTH. *So King James departed*, &c.—So the King departed this life the threttene of December, and was buried in the Abbey of Haly-roodhouse beside his first wife Magdalen.

A FUNERAL ELEGIE UPON KING JAMES THE FIFTH.

A King be birth, be wicked life a slave,
Defyler of maydes, wyfes, with filthie lust,
Whose hart on Earth no other Heaven did crave;
Whose projects were to overthrow the just.
With grief and sorrow tooke his last good night:
His breath is gone, his illes live yet in sight.

[MS. 1636.]

Page 155, line 31, *made a despiteful ballat against the preachers* and the Governour—made a despitefull rayling ballade against the Governour and his preachers, &c.

Page 180, line 19, *without knowledge of the Nobilitie*. Those who favoured him, to excuse him reported, that he feared to be betrayed to the English host, for the hatred that was conceived against him for many respects. His departure brought great trouble to the army because the cause of his flight was not well known. *They resolve to return the next way* (day), *&c.* [lines 20 to 26] *the enemie hasting after them*. The English wer puffed up

with arrogancy, ascribing that to their own prowess which happened by the dastardness of the Governor.

Page 183, line 16, *to their enemies*. The black booke of Hammiltoun maketh mention of great harme done at this time by the Governour and the French. But such as with their eyes saw the whole progresse knew that to be a lee, and doe repute it among the veniall sinnes of that race to speake the best of themselfis they can.

Page 219, line 9, *which they shall not eshew*. "And as for the Cardinall (said he) who from that loftie seat looketh downe upon me so proudlie, he shall within few days be hanged out at the same window, to be seene no lesse ignominiouslie than now he sitteth arrogantlie." Then the executioner upon his knees desired forgivenesse of him. Mr George kissed his cheek and said, "Loe, here is a signe that I forgive thee: myne heart, doe thyne office." And so he was first hanged upon a gibbet, and immediately there after burned to powder.

AN ACROSTICK IN COMMEMORATION OF THAT EVER-BLESSED MARTYR AND RARE PRESIDENT OF ALL TRUE PIETIE, MR GEORGE WISE-HEART.

Mr eek, modest, zealous, humble Sophocard
G rac't from above with sp'rit of prophecie,
E xample of all goode, celestiall nard
O ffspring of light, starre of rare charitie,
R ipe frute for God, gemme of sinceritie,
G old weill refin'd and purg'd from sinfull drosse,
E xpos'd to death for blamelesse veritie.
W ith gladnesse who tooke up his Maister's crosse,
I n him God's grace did ever budde and blosse;
S trong, stable, constant was his confidence,
E arth's whole delights for Christ he counted losse
H im love inflamed, heaven is his recompense;
E lias' charriot carried him from hence,
A dvanc'd he is to be immortall King,
R avish'd with sight of glories excellence,
T riumphant Halelujahs he doth sing:
His soule possesseth in the highest measure
Sweet perfite, pure, unmix'd eternall pleasure.

[MS. 1636.] J. L.

Page 222, line 14. *The workemen to the number of more than an hundred*, runne off the walles, and were without hurt put out at the small wicket of the gate. *William Kirkaldie keeped*, &c.

Page 224, line 10, *to see what exequies his brethren, the Bishops, would prepare for him.* The death of this godlesse Cardinall was dolorous to the Pope, dolorous to the preists, and dolorous to many femall creatures; for in him perished all faithfulnesse to Rome, and comfort to all gentlewomen, speciallie to wanton widowes. To him succeeded John Hammiltoun bastard Bishop of St Andrews, who followed weill the footsteppes of his wicked predecessour.

AN EPITAPH UPON THE INFAMOUS LIFE, AND WRETCHED DEATH OF THAT ENEMY OF ALL RIGHTEOUSNESSE, DAVID BEATOUNE, LATE CARDINAL OF SCOTLAND.

Patrone of vice, patterne of treacherie,
Impe of curst malice, wicked chyld of wrath,
Lusts dearest freind, great foe to puritie,
Top-bough of pride, wrack of true Christian faith,
Author of discord, fountaine of mischeefe,
Saints slaughter-slave, truthes enemie the cheefe.

Stranger to God, Pope's prelate, Dagon's priest,
Bashan's fed bull, Sinne's drudge, Rome's favourite,
Scotland's great monster, opposite to Christ,
A false deceitful double hipocrite.
Malignant bramble voyd of all good frute:
Dead dry, worme-eaten, rotten at the rute.

The Dragon's Angell, Satan's cocatrice,
Supplanter of all grace, the Beast's strong rock,
A mappe of errours, register of vice,
The pricking thorne, Heaven's seed which most did chock.
Impenitent, Death's captive, Hell's fyre-brand:
A spectacle of God's revenging hand.

[MS. 1636.] J. L.

Page 228, line 17. *Dean John N. a rotten Papist.*—Dean John Annan, &c.

Page 244, line 28. *So the whole company was sett at libertie,* none perishing, no not before the world, except James Melvill, who departed this wretched life in the castell of Brist, in Brittannia. This deliverie of the captives, both out of prisones and the galleyes, I have here set downe after the randering and razing of the Castell [of St Andrews], lest I should brake the Historie, howbeit their deliverie was not wrought in one year. They wer not all fullie delivered before the year 1550. Of John Rough, preacher, we heare no further in the Historie of the Church of Scotland; but in the Booke of Martyrs we find, that after the battell of Musselburgh, he went to England, and that he suffered martyrdom under the raigne of Quene Marie, which we shall insert in the owne place. Wee will now returne whether we left, to the year 1547.

Page 245, line 15. *It is said that the Governour sent out messengers throughout all the realm, who carrying a fyrie crosse in their hands.* [In the margin of MS. 1636, Calderwood has added,] (That is two firebrands set in fashion of a crosse, and pitched upon the point of a spear, which were then usuallie carried in cases of importance,) to declare both to the churchmen and laity, &c.

Page 247, line 28, *the Lord Gray himself was hurt in the mouth* with a pike, which stroock two inches into his neck.

Page 248, line 18, *the Lord Fleming,* the Laird of Lochinvar, the Laird of Wedderburne, and many others, to the number neer of 10,000 men.

[In the margin of MS. 1636, there is added:—The execution was much maintained by the Scots owne swords, scattered in everie place: for no sooner did an English horsemen (some words

probably wanting) but forthwith hee might take up another. So apparent is the hand of God against violation of faith, that it is oft chastised by the means appointed to defend it.] The Erle of Huntlie and Lord Yester wer taken in the field. [In the margin, —The Earle being asked whilst he was prisoner, how he stoode affected to the marriage, answered, that he was weel affected to favour the marriage, but he nothing liked that kinde of wooing.] The Erle of Angus came to Calder. James Douglas, Erle of Mortoun, afterwards Regent, fled to Dalkeith Castell, which was besieged and rendered. [In the margin,—Certaine of these who escaped by flight excused their dishonour, not without a sharpe jest against some of their leaders, affirming that as they had followed them into the field, so it was good reason they should follow them out. Those bitter jests, the more truth they carrie, the more biting remorse they leave behind.] The Erle of Angus complained bitterlie that he was abandoned by Governour, the Queene, and the Erle of Huntlie. The Governour and his brother, &c. [See page 249, line 7,] *to the government.* The greatest ground of greefe which most pierced her heart was the slaughter of the Maister of Areskene, whom so dearlie shee loved.

Page 254, lines 15 and 21, *at the burning of Austoo ;* [err. for Askew, referring to Anne Askew, who suffered martyrdom in Smithfield in July 1546.]

Page 251. This account of the martyrdom of Johne Rough is abridged from Foxe: See *infra*, page 154.

Page 255. The English to bridle yet farther the Scots, and to force them to submitt, builded a fort at Lauder, and fortified the towne of Hadinton, in the beginning of the yeare 1548. Sir Hugh Willoughbie was appointed to keep Lauder fort. *The Lord Gray*, &c. [See line 6.] *In the meantyme the castell of Yester was wonne, Dalkeith and Musselburgh brunt*, and the whole countrie about layed waste.

Page 256, line 25, *were made Knights of the Cockill.* Upon these conditions they condescended to the conclusions of the Parliament. Thus was the Queene sauld to goe to France, that in her young yeares shee might drink of that liquour, that might remaine with her all her lifetime, for a plague to this realme, and for her owne finall destruction.

Page 261, lines 2 and 5. *Monsieur* [de] *Thermes.*

Page 272, line 25. *Soone after Sir Robert Carnegie* was dismissed and sent home; and shortlie after followed Panter, Bishop of Rosse, who with great difficulty obtained the Governour's consent to the transferring of the governement to the Queene: For this, his painfull service, the French King rewarded him with an Abbacie in Poictow.

Page 273. The Schisme, &c. [The whole of this section is copied from Foxe's Book of Martyrs.]

Page 278, line 3, Anno 1553. [This date in MS. 1636, comes in before the following paragraph, entitled:

MR KNOX FLEETH TO GENEVA.

This year King Edward the Sixt departed this life, and his sister Marie succeeded; wherupon followed great persecution in the Kirk of England. Many wer forced to flee out of the countrie. Mr Knox who had taught at Berwick, Newcastle, London, Winsore, &c., at this time fled out of England to Geneva. After his flight he wrote an Admonition or Warning to the faithfull Christianes in England, speciallie to those who wer in London, Newcastell and Berwick; wherin he advyseth them to flee as weill in bodie as in spirit, all fellowship and unitie with idolaters in their idolatrie, and declareth plainlie unto them, that unlesse they so did they refused to be in league with God, declared themselfes to have no faith, and denyed to be God's witnesses.—He was a chief actor in that worthie worke of our publike Reformation,

and, therefore, it is not impertinent to insert in this Historie, whensoever occasion sall offer, what he did and suffered in other Churches befor the Lord employed him as an instrument of his glorie in his owne native countrie.

MR KNOX HIS PASTORALL BOLDNESS AND FREE SPEECHES.

In a letter dated the fourteene of Aprile 1553, and written with his owne hand, I find that he was called before the Counsell of England, who demanded of him these three questions; 1. Why he refused the benefice provided for him? &c. [See page 280.]

Page 282, line 23. *The Governour was convoyed with pompe, the sword, scepter and crowne borne before him,* to the Parliament house. But having dimitted his office to the Queene Dowager, he cometh furth againe as a privat man. The Queene Dowager was the first Queene that did raigne as Regent in this realme, except the relict of King James the Fourth, who scarce governed one year. Monsieur D'Osell received the ensigne of the authoritie in name of the absent Queene, and in her name randered them to the Queene Dowager. Shee was convoyed with like pompe to the Palace of Halyrudhous from the Parliament house, as never woman was before her in Scotland.

Page 307, line 27. The Erle of Glencairne and (Harie Drummond) his counseller wer so weill content with Mr Knox his doctrine, that they moved him to write a Letter to the Queene Regent to move her to hear God's word. He obeyed their desyre, and did write a letter which was delivered unto her owne hands by Alexander Erle of Glencairne, and was afterwards imprinted, &c. [In the MS. 1636, the Letter is transcribed at full length, with Knox's additions, from the copy printed in 1558.]

Page 319. MR KNOX SOLICITED BY SOME NOBLEMEN TO RETURNE TO SCOTLAND.

Some few months before, the Erle of Glencairne, Lord of

Lorn, Lord Areskine and James Stewart Pryor of St Andrews directed letters to Geneva to Mr Knox, desyring him to returne to Scotland for their comfort, and the comfort of other preachers and professors, then fighting courageouslie against the enemie; the tenour whereof followeth.

[The letter referred to, dated 10th March 1556, that is 1556-7, will be found in Knox's History, vol. i. p. 267. After Knox's reply, 27th October 1557, ib. p. 269, Calderwood in MS. 1636, adds the following note, but he was undoubtedly wrong in his conjecture regarding its date, as already noticed at page 327.]

In Mr Knox his printed Historie of the Church I find this letter to be dated at Deep, the twentie-seventh of October 1557; but as may be gathered be the contents of the letter itself it may seeme rather to be in the year 1558.

Page 330. [Calderwood, in his larger manuscripts, under the year 1557, introduces "THE HISTORIE OF THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOME OF JOHNE ROUGH, of which an abstract is inserted in the Wodrow edit. p. 251. He transcribed it from Foxe's Book of Martyrs, from which work it is more correctly given, in the Appendix to Knox's History, vol. i. p. 537.]

Page 331, line 11. *From Court*, four of the cheefe, to wit, *the Earle of Cassilles*, &c.—Line 18. The Bishop of Orknay departed this transitorie life in Deepe the fyftene of September, *the Earle of Rothesse*, &c.—Line 20. The Bishop of Orknay, his end was even according to his life: for after he was driven back, &c. Line 23, *his two coffers*, some said upon them, from the which he could nowise be moved to depart so long as his memorie continued. James Earle of Murray, *who was ever*, &c.

Page 342, line 16. Afterward by the just judgment of God, in the same place wher Walter Mille was brunt, the images of the great Church of the Abbey, which passed both in number and costlinesse, wer brunt, in the time of Reformation.

EPITAPHIUM WALTERI MILL.

Non nostra impietas, aut actæ crimina vitæ,
Armarunt hostes, in mea fata, truces:
Sola fides Christi, acris signata libellis,
Quæ vitæ causa est, est mihi causa necis.

THE SAME IN ENGLISH, BY J. L.

Not sinnes or crymes of bypast life,
Make tyrannes seek my death:
Christ's truth is made a fatall knife,
Which to man's saule gives breath.

[MS. 1636.]

Page 343. A MIRACULOUS WORKE OF GOD IN DELIVERING N. LEARMONTH OUT OF PRISON.

I reid not of any moe Scots men that suffered for the truth, either at home, or abroade, onlie I finde in the thrid volume of Mr Fox his Ecclesiastick Historie, this storie following, which N. Thorne, a certaine godlie minister reported that he heard out of the mouth of the partie himself. There was one N. Learmonth, otherwise called Williamsone, a Scotsman, to whom (being in prison in England in Queene Marie's dayes) it was said, as he thought thus sounding in his eares, "Arise, goe thy wayes." Wherunto, when he gave no great heed at the first, the second time it was said to him againe in the same wordes. Upon this as he fell to his prayers, it was said the thrid time to him, "Arise, and goe thy way," which was about half-an-hour after. So he arising upon these words, immediatelie a piece of the prison wall fell downe. And as the officers came in at the outward gate of the castell or prison, he, leaping over the ditch, escaped, and in the way meeting a certaine beggar, changed his coat with him, and coming to the sea-shore, where he found a vessell readie to make sayle, he was taken in, and escaped the search which was straitlie layed for him, throughout the whole countrie.

Page 411. MR KNOX HIS TREATISE AGAINST THE MONSTRUOUS REGIMENT OF WOMEN.

This same year (1558) Mr Knox set furth a treatise, entitled, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regi-

ment of Women." The raigne of Queen Marie in England, and the regiment of Marie of Lorane in Scotland, two wicked women, provoked him to set furth this treatise. In it he sheweth his erudition and varietie of reading, more than in any other of his treatises, which, because of the raritie thereof, and for giving the more satisfaction to the Christian Reader of the matter contained therein, I thought good to subjoyne the same as followeth.

[In MS. 1636, Calderwood has accordingly transcribed Knox's "First Blast," from the old printed copy, and at the end of it he subjoins this note:]

This head anent the Regiment of Women is disputed and agitated amongst the politicians, some impugning, others defending. Some were offended with Mr Knox, but he shrinked not. And if the two Maries had lived longer, and Queene Elizabeth had not succeeded, he had set forth his Second Blast, which, so farre as I can learne, come never to light. What the scope of it should have beene, may be perceaved by a *Postscript extant in the end of Anthonie Gilbie's Admonition*, &c. [See page 411, line 18.]

Page 412. THE EARLE OF ARGYLE TAKETH THE PROTECTION OF JOHN DOUGLAS.

The old Earle of Argyle, adhering to the conclusions which were agreed upon concerning Religion be the Congregation, the year preceding, tooke the maintenance *of John Douglas*, &c.

Page 414. A CONVENTION OF THE CLERGIE AT EDINBURGH.

Holinshed, out of Leslie, relateth that, in Julie and August this year, [1558] there was a Convention of all the Prelates and Clergie holden at Edinburgh, in the which certane men and women of Edinburgh wer accused of heresie, and abjured at the Town Crosse, with faggots on their backs; whereupon wer tumults raised in Edinburgh, for appeasing whereof the Lord Seatoun was made Governour or Provost there. And that in this Assemblie was craved, that the Common prayers might be read in the Scots tongue; whereof the answer was deferred till Marche, in which

month a Provinciall Councell was appointed to be holden. It may be the like was craved in this Assemblie which was craved of the Queene Regent. But we will proceed in the Historie, following Mr Knox and Mr Buchanan.

These former Petitions being proponed to the Queene Regent be the Professors, the Estates Ecclesiasticall began to flame, *and devise*, &c. [See page 414, line 4.]

Page 415, line 28. *Some say they gave her* [a large purse] *fourtie thousand pounds*, [says the Chronicle], *gathered by the Laird of Earlshall.* [See Knox's History, vol. i. p. 307.]

Page 416, line 21. *There was, &c.*—In September, or, as our author Mr Knox writeth, in October 1558, there was a Parliament holden at Edinburgh, in which *the Commissioners, &c.*

Page 434. Knox's Letter to Cecil.—line 20. *The letter is prolix.* [It is, nevertheless, inserted in Calderwood's larger MS., but it will be found printed in Knox's History, vol. ii. p. 15.]

Page 438, line 27. *Of the Ecclesiastical lawes.* But let the same law have the true interpretation, and just execution, and the Divell shall als soone be proved a trew and obedient servant to God, as any of that sort shall be proved a Bishop, or yet to have just authoritie within the Church of Christ Jesus.

Page 442, line 20. *They had* no respect to their *owne particular profite*, but only to the abolishing of idolatrie and the monuments thereof. Yea, within two dayes, the places of the Greyfriars, Blackfriers, and Charterhouse monkes, a building of wonderfull cost and greatnesse, were whollie demolished.

Page 443, line 22. *More franke*—(err. for) more fracke.

Page 459, line 27. *Turinghame*—Teringland or Teringzean.

Page 494, line 23, *in the printed book.* [This reference is to the suppressed edition of Knox's History, printed at London, by Vautrollier, in 1586, in which these Letters to Cecil were omitted. Line 25, (should read,) Master Knox. *Non est, &c.*; and line 26, *in Christo Jesu.* The whole of this part of Calderwood's History, is little else than a transcript from Knox.]

Page 587, line 18. *Friar Blacke deprehended, &c.* Friar Black did celebrat the Mass unto her. Master Knox relateth, that the Queen Regent herself had a little before deprehended, &c. [This is followed by eight lines in verse, as a satirical "Description of the Queen's black Chaplane:" See them in Knox's History, vol. ii., App., p. 593.]

Page 590, end of Volume First. [In MS. 1636, there is added the following paragraph, copied from Knox's History :—]

The Queen Regent's Funeralles.

Shortlie after, question being moved about her buriall, the Preachers boldlie gainstood to the use of any superstitious rites in that realme which God of his mercie had begunne to purge. Her buriall was deferred till further advisement. Her corpse was lapped in a coffin of lead, and keeped in the Castell from the nynth of June till the nyntene of October, at which time it was caried be some pioners to a shippe. Her bodie was convoyed to France, to the Monasterie of Feschampe, from thence to the Abbey of St Peter at Rhemes in Champaignie, wher her sister was the Abbesse, and there buried.

VOLUME SECOND.

Page 9, line 10. *Brys de Vincent,* (err. for) Bois de Vincent.

Page 10, line 8. [Delete the words *most puissant and.*]

Page 12, line 7. *And Dunkelden*, chief pillars of the Papisticall Church, gave their presence, &c. Line 10. *The Pryour*,—the Pryours.

Page 15, line 15. *This Supplication, &c.* [In MS. 1636, this paragraph is partially altered, but Calderwood, in the margin, inserts as follows :—] *Nota.* Immediatelie after this Supplication, subjoyne the section entitled "The Confession of Faith ratified by the Estates in Parliament," and leave out this Confession altogether, because it is printed amongst the Acts of Parliament.

Page 37. THE CONFESSION OF FAITH RATIFIED BY THE ESTATES.

[In MS. 1636, the first part of this paragraph is altered by interlining the words in a very small hand, as follows :—]

The Supplication foresaid was read in open audience of the Estates. Howbeit, some favoured unfainedlie the cause of God, yet there were manie that for worldlie respects abhorred a perfect reformation. The Barons and Ministers, notwithstanding, wer called on and commanded to draw the summe of that Doctrine which they would maintaine, and desire the Parliament to establish. This was undertaken gladly, and within four dayes after, THE CONFESSION OF FAITH, which is registered amongst the Acts of Parliament was presented, and read publicklie, first, in audience of the Lords of the Articles, and after before the Estates. The Bishops above named, and some other of the Temporall Estate, were charged in the name of God to object, if they were able, against that doctrine. Some of the Ministers wer present, standing readie to have answered. Whill no objection was made, a day was appointed for conference. The Confession of Faith was read everie article by itself, and everie man's voyce requyred. None of the Temporall Estate voted in the contrair, except the Erle of Atholl, Lord Somervaill, and Lord Borthwick. "Wee will beleeve (said they) as our forefathers beleeved." The Popish Bishops wer silent. The rest of the Three Estates approved the

Doctrine, and many of them the rather becaus none of the Bishops would or could object in the contrair. The Erle Marshall said, &c. [See page 37, last line.]

Page 40, line 12, *sett up above him*, and shortlie thereafter he departed this life. The godlie in France set forth these verses, &c. [See the verses in Knox's History, vol. ii. p. 135.]

Page 47. ANNO M.D.LXI.

After certane knowledge of the King of France his death, a Convention was holden at Edinburgh the fyften of Januar. At this Convention, Lord James was appointed to goe to France to the Queen, and a Parliament was appointed to beginne the twentie day of May, at which time, &c. [See page 47, last line.]

Page 49, after last line. By this Discourse the Reader may perceave how untrue it is that Papists could never be heard; for they wer not onlie required to speak their judgment freelie, but also protection and defence was promised unto them, yea, and to subscrive to their assertions if they could establish them be the word of God. But herein they show themselfis children to the Father of lees, as in other things.

Page 50, last paragraph. *The Preachers, &c.* [In MS. 1636, this paragraph precedes the FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE, which occupies from fol. 135 to fol. 145, written in a remarkably neat and careful manner, but omitting the names of the subscribers,—followed on fol. 145 to fol. 156, with the Form of the Election of Ministers and Superintendents, the Order of Discipline, Ministration of the Sacrament, Visitation of the Sick, &c., "as they ar set downe in the Psalme Bookes." It would seem, however, as if Calderwood intended to omit nearly the whole of these, as the above paragraph, printed at page 50, is deleted, and on the margin of fol. 134 there is written as follows:—

The forme and order of the admission of the Superintendents

is set downe before the Psalmes in Meetre, where we have the admission of Mr John Spotswood, Superintendent of Lothian, who was admitted in Edinburgh upon the 9th of March, anno 1560, or, according to the new calculation, 1561, in forme and maner following: *Here insert*, 1. The Election of Superintendents. [See this in vol. ii. p. 56.] 2. The section entitled, "An Adulterer in Edinburgh rescued out of the hands of the Magistrat.") [Ib., p. 121.]

[As the several titles that occur on page 51, and in the Table of Contents, page vii., are calculated to mislead any person not conversant with such matters; it is necessary to state, that the First Book of Discipline is not contained in the other copies of Calderwood's History. In his larger MS., after the titles, "The Preface," &c., and "The First Head," &c., blank spaces are left to indicate this. But the several "Forms," and "Orders," which fill pages 51 to 120 in the second volume of the Wodrow edition, are wholly distinct from the Book of Discipline; and these Forms, &c., constitute the chief portion of The Booke of Common Order, which was usually prefixed to the editions of the Metrical Psalms, printed previously to the year 1650, when our present version was adopted. As Calderwood himself, in 1621, published an edition of the "First and Second Books of Discipline," (see Knox's Works, vol. ii. note, p. 183), he might think it the less necessary to incorporate them in his History. In the recent edition of Knox's History of the Reformation, the First Book of Discipline will be found printed from a more perfect and authentic copy than any other that has hitherto appeared.]

Page 169. Anno m.d.lxii.

It was ordained in December before, as we have heard, that Beneficed persons should produce the Rentalls of their benefices the twentie-fourth of Januar following. Upon which day Commission was given as follows; &c. [The several Acts of Council, dated 24th January, 12th and 15th February 1562, are introduced into the larger MS., but they will be found in Knox's History, vol. ii. p. 303-309.]

Page 183, line 19, *in Mr Henrie Lane's house.* [In the MSS. of Calderwood, and in the Booke of the Kirk, it is *Mr Henry Land's house;* which is evidently a mistake for Mr Henry Lauder: See Knox's History, vol. ii. p. 337, note 1.]

Page 184. [The last paragraph, relating to Gordon, is deleted in MS. 1636. Also another, which is copied into the Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. i. page 15-16, from Calderwood, and there divided into three separate paragraphs.]

Page 185, line 10. *It was acted, &c.* In the second session, it was ordained, that Ministers shall be subject to the Superintendent in all lawfull admonitions as is prescrived, als weill in the Booke of Discipline, as in the manner of admission of Superintendents. (In the margin of MS. 1636,) Here are to be observed two things: 1. That it is presupposed the admonitions of the Superintendents are lawfull, and that they must not enjoyne what they please. 2. That the obedience to be performed to them was bounded and prescribed in the Booke of Discipline. Here likewise it may be observed, 1. That the Booke of Discipline was allowed be the Assembly of the Kirk, howsoever it was opposed unto by some of the Nobiltie. 2. That in the act touching tryell, and in this touching subjection of all sorts of Ministers to the discipline of the Kirk, there is no mention of Bishops, or any sort of Prelats, howbeit some of them professed the Reformed religion. So it appeareth, they would not acknowledge it to have any place in the Ministrie. Next it was ordained, That, &c. [See line 13.]

Ib., line 26, *according to the order of the Booke of Discipline.* Here the Booke of Discipline is made the warrant both of orderlie admission, and of orderlie removall of Ministers. [MS. 1636.]

Page 186, line 12, *according to the foresaid Act.* Howbeit the Superintendent be onlie nominat here, yet due examination and admission importeth the order set downe in the Booke of Discipline, and former Acts of Assemblies.

Page 187, line 4, *Mr John Gaig*,—Mr John Craig.

Page 202, line 6. *Lesnores*; line 8, *Cested*, (in MS. Sesled); line 9, *Skeldum*, and *Forgishall*; line 12, *Daliarbich*, *Corstlayes*, and *Hopscleugh*,—Lefnorris, Hazleheid, Skeldon, Fergushill, Daljarrock, Corseclays, and Horsecleuch.

Page 203, lines 2 and 3, and page 212, line 8. *Cosraguell*,—Crossraguell: line 8, *Parson of Donquhare*—Parson of Sanquhar.

Page 212, line 2. "*O cruell dame*"—"O cruelle dame," that is, "Cruell maistress," what these words import, lovers can interpret. Thus did Chattelat lose his head that his tongue should not reveale the secret of the Queene.

There was a great dearth throughout all Scotland, &c. [See Knox's History, vol. ii. p. 369. Several other additions inserted from Knox, which it is not always necessary to specify, occur in this part of Calderwood's larger manuscript.]

Page 215, line 1. *A letter to the Earl of Argyle*, &c.; line 5, *not weill accepted.*

[This letter will be found in Knox's History, vol. ii. p. 377. It is inserted in MS. 1636, along with this remark, copied nearly verbatim from Knox:] This letter was not weill accepted of the said Earle, and yet did he utter no part of his displeasure in publike, for he keeped the dyet appoynted, and shew himself at that time verie familiar with Mr Knox.

Page 215, line 26. *Lethington younger was absent*, and so the professors had the fewar unfriends.

Page 220, line 17, *Marvoch*; page 227, line 27, *Sir John Spence*,—Marnock, and Mr John Spens.

Page 248. MATTHEW, EARL OF LENNOX RESTORED. [In MS.

1636, this paragraph occurs not under January, but towards the close of the year 1564, as follows]:

Matthew, Earl of Lennox, returned to this countrie about the end of harvest, or in October, by permission of the English Queene, the twentie-two year after his departure out of this realme, and was restored in a publicke Convention to his patrimonie in December following, some say in Januar. Camden saith that the Queene sent to him, being so advised be the Countesse of Lennox her aunt, under pretence to restore him to his ancient patrimonie, but indeed to learne of him what the Protestants of England meant anent the Succession, and that he obtained leave be Ladie Margaret his wyfes means, and letters of commendation from Queene Elizabeth. Her intention was not onlie to put others out of hope of succession by his sonne Henrie Darlie, but also to oppose him against the Earle of Murray.

Page 280, line 16, *anie communication betwixt them.* In this Conference you may see a proofe of Mr Knox his deep judgment and promptnesse in citing passages of Scripture, beside his great zeal, courage and sinceritie in the cause of God, without respect to flesh or blood. *Mr Knox ended the Fourth Booke of his Historie with this Conference.*

Page 292. MR KNOX HIS SERMON IN THE KIRK OF EDINBURGH.—Upon the Lord's day, the nyntene of August, Mr Knox preached in the Kirk of Edinburgh, upon the 26th chapter of Isaiah, &c. [Calderwood in this place has introduced the greater part of the sermon; and under this head, "Mr Knox discharged to preach for a season," he says, "Mr Knox caused this Sermon preceding to be set forth in print the year following, to let such as Satan hath not altogether blinded see upon how small occasions great offence was then conceived," &c.]

This is followed by a paragraph entituled, "The Lords pursued by the King and Queene," and a copy of "a Declaration of the Lords, proclaimed at Dumfries," dated the 19th September 1565.

Page 294, line 22. In the first session, the Superintendents of Lothian and Fife excused their slackness in visitation, be the absence of the people following the Queene, according to the proclamation. *The Superintendent of Angus confessed, &c.*

Page 300. The Commissioners of Saint Andrews requested, that Mr Knox might be transplanted and placed in Sanct Andrews, which was refused. The Assemblie willed them to choice one out of their own Universitie, in place of Christopher Goodman, who latelie departed into England.

Page 304, line 11. *This treatise of Fasting is extant in our Psalme Bookes*, nevertheless, least afterward it be discharged to be printed, and so the publicke good thereof be thereby the more restrained, I thought good to subjoyne the same immediatelie after this section. According to the appoyntment of the Assemblie, the Fast was begun the second Lord's day of Maij following, being a hote sunnie day, and therefore called after the Dustie Sunday. This was the first publike Fast that was keeped since the Reformation. The Queene at a certane time demanded, What Mr Knox was doing? It was answered, He and the rest are fasting and praying. "Me is more feared for that (said the Queene) than for ten thousand men in armes." And, indeed, after this, matters succeeded not weill with her.

Page 310. David Rizio, commonly called Signeur Davie, having got the Court in a manner solitary, at least free of malcontented nobles displeased with his preferments, among other causes of grief suggested pernicious counsells to the Queen, and willed her to cut off some of the Nobility for a terror to others. *But becaus he knew, &c.*

Page 311, line 31, *endemize*—endenize.

Page 317, line 11, *become frequent afterward*: The Causes of

the Fast, I have already touched. Instant and earnest were the godly in prayer for the delivery of the Queen's birth, but little thanks doth the Kirk reap this day.

Page 317, line 14. *This moneth Mr Knox* penned *the Preface of the Fourth Book of his Historie, by which we may understand* how he compareth the state of the present tyme with the preceding, since the Reformation; and therefor I have inserted it. [MS. 1636.] [It is not inserted in Calderwood's larger manuscript. In the Wodrow edition, the Preface alluded to terminates on page 321, line 11.]

Patrick, Lord Ruthven, about this tyme, departed out of this life, at Newcastell. He made a Christian end, thanking God for the leasure granted unto him to call for mercie.

The Queen chooseth Bothwell for her Paramour.

The Queen, after the death of Sr. Davie, made choyse of Bothwell for love companion and paramour. And that she might enjoy this companie with the greater contentment, shee secreitlie projected the murther of her husband. For avoyding all suspition of such a bloodie designe, shee possessed the hearts of the King and nobilitie with such mutuall jealousies and hatred against other, that if God at that tyme had not detected the treacherie, shee had provocked both parties to great effusion of blood. On a certane night season being long in conference with the King in the castell of Edinburgh, shee made him believe that almost the whole Nobilitie had conspyred his death, and wer devysing how to dispatch him. After the King's departure from her, shee immediately sent for the Erle of Murray, her brother, with this message, that the mater necessarilie requyred his presence without delay. He being awaked out of a sound sleep, in great fear, cast a night-gowne over his shirt, and as it wer half naked, come to her in haist. Shee affirmed that the King had conceaved a deadlie malice against him because he was so high in her estimation, and that he had fullie determined to cutt him off, when ever

he found the opportunitie. This bloodie project not answering her desyre, she assayed a more subtile and deceitfull device. She earnestlie delt with the King, that whill shee was great with chyld, he might take the use of the Erle of Murraye's wife, promising her assent and furtherance, yea, and her pardon to committ the offence. Not that she deemed that noble ladie enclynable to such villanie, but that thereby she might be revenged of three enemies at once, the King, the Erle of Murray, and his Wife, and so might get devorcement, and prepare emptie bedroome for Bothwell.

The tyme of the Queen's childbirth approaching, she being in the Castell of Edinburgh wrote for the Nobilitie, and there, the 19th of June, betwixt the hours of ten and eleven of the clock, she was delivered of a male child, who after was named James. The Lords and people gave God thanks in the great Kirk of Edinburgh, and prayed for gifts and grace to him. The artillerie was shott, and bonfyres of joy set forth.

Page 328. The Ceremonies of the Baptisme being finished, the Queene suborned the Earle of Murray to move the Earle of Bothwell to accompany the Earle of Bedford to Saint Andrews; who promised fair, but minded no such matter. If the Queene had been earnest, she might soon have moved him be hir self. The Earle of Murray accompanyed the Earle of Bedford to Saint Andrews. Bothwell accompanyed the Queen to Drummanie and Tullibarden, in which places they remained eight days, and returned to Stirline about the beginning of January.

Page 335, line 10. When Mr Knox, the penner of this letter, wrote thus of the superstitious apparell, as a supplicant for the afflicted brethren, what would he have written, think you, in another case? It is to be observed, that at the same tyme our worthie brethren in England made their state knowne to Maister Beza, who, upon their complaint, wrote a letter in their behalf, at the same tyme, to Dr Grindall, Bishop of London, wherein he

findeth fault with the maner of apparell appoynted for Ministers; with kneeling at the Communion, and all significant ceremonies, which letter is the eighth in order amongst his Epistles. But obtaining no favour, he wrote the year following, that is 1567, another letter to this purpose, which is the twelfth in order amongst his Epistles, wherein he giveth his beloved brethren this advice, that rather than they should give their consents to the order of ordaining their ministers to use the cope and surplice, and to the maner of excommunication that was used in the Kirk of England, that they should give place to manifest violence, and live as privat men. It is also to be observed, that the sincerer sort of the Ministrie in England had not yet assaulted the jurisdiction and Church government, which they did not till the year 1572, at which tyme they published their first and second Admonition to the Parliament, but onlie had excepted against superstitious apparell, and some other faults in the Service Booke.

Page 340. In the third Session Mr Knox purchased licence from the Assembly to pass to England to visite his children, and to do other lawfull affairs, together with a testimoniall of his life and conversation, with provision that he return the 25th of June nixt to come. [The rest of the paragraph on this page is not given in the larger manuscript.]

Page 342, line 24, *and willeth him not to be miscarried with his own wyfe's fained teares*, which she shew him should not be so much praised nor esteemed as the true and faithfull travels which she sustained to merite her place; for obtaining whereof against my naturall [own nature] saith she, I betray them that may impesch me. She also willed him to give no credence to her brother the Earle of Huntlie's speeches against the most faithfull lover ever he had, or ever could have; and referreth sundrie things to the bearer. This is one of the Letters which wer found in Bothwell's casket which was intercepted. We shall after speak of divers other of her letters which wer found in the foresaid casket.

Page 345, line 24. *Far lesse could this imputation be fastened upon the Earle of Murray*: for upon the Lord's day, the 9th of Februar, being advertised, as said is, that his ladie had parted with her birth, he would not be stayed one hour longer at the Queen's request, but immediatelie before sermon, tooke his journey towards St Andrews to visit his sicke ladie. Neither Murray nor Morton brought the King to Edinburgh, they appoynted not his ludging, they had no dealing with the bastard Bishop of St Andrews, who ludged that night in the Earle of Arran's ludging, the nearest ludging to the house that was blown up in the air, whereas, before, he used to ludge in the most conspicuous part of the towne, wher ther was greatest repair of the people, to hunt for salutations. Howbeit, Morton knew something of the enterprise, yet the Earle of Murray was altogether ignorant. If he had aspyred to the crown, he might have caused blow up the house where the King was, some night when the Queen lay there. He was so well knowne to the countrie for his good behaviour and religious disposition, that the enemies could not forge any likelyhood which could make impression in the heads of the people, that he was guiltie of so horrible a cryme, howbeit, of late, some altogether ignorant of his conversation, have preassed to transferre the cryme from others upon him, to free others but with credit to themselves. It wer a wonder if they had beene guiltie, that they should have escaped tryall and punishment, the fact being abhorred be the whole countrie. If you will read Buchanan's Historie, and consider how the Earle of Murray behaved himself both before and after, how and by what means his life was sought both before the Fast and after, there needeth no other Apologie for him against all the mercenarie wryters of our tyme. Seing the story is already amplie set downe, I will insist no farther into it.

Page 349, line 32. *A great number of them being his friends and favourers.* And so Bothwell was not purged from the cryme, but as it wer washed with Sowter's black, and the more comlie prepared to goe a wooing to wed the Queene, and so to become a husband to

greater shame, than he was before an adulterer. The names of her the persons who was upon Bothwell's assyse, I have set downe as follow: Andro Earle of Rothes, Gilbert Earle of Cassils, George Earl of Cathnesse, Lord John Hammiltoun of Aberbrothok, Laurence Lord Oliphant, John Lord Hereis, James Lord Ross, Robert Lord Sempill, Robert Lord Boyd, John Lord Forbes younger, John Gordoun of Lochinvar, John Somervell of Cambuskenneth, James Cockburne of Langtoun, N. Mowbray of Barnbowgall, N. Ogilvie of Boyne. George, Earl of Cathness, was made Chancellor of the assise.

Page 350. PASSQUELL, 1567. [Being the second libel on the Assise, by whom Bothwell was absolved.]

It's not enough the poore King deid,
The mischeant Murtherer occupying his steid.
Double adulterie hath our land shamed,
But our lucklesse Lords must be defamed.
Wilfullie they must themselves mensweare,
To colour knaverie, this is all our deir.
God deliver us this troublous time,
And save the sakelesse of the crime.

Page 351, line 2. ANSWER TO BOTHWELL'S CHALLENGE.

Forsamekle as James Earle of Bothwell hath sett up a writing, subscribed with his owne hand, making mention, that albeit he was clenged of the treasonable murther of the King, yitt nevertheless he offereth, if anie gentleman, or man undefamed, will or darre say, that he is not innocent of that abominable crime, to fight with him according to the law of armes, and thereupon, hath given the lie in his throtte to him that will say the contrarie: for answer, I, who am a gentleman and a man of good birth, by thir presents doe accept the offer, and offer me to prove by the same law of armes, that he was the cheef author of that foull and horrible murther, albeit an inquest, for feare of their lives, hath slightlie quite him. And because the King of France and the Queen of England have by their ambassadors craved a triall and punishment, I most humblie, therefore, crave of their Majesties,

that they will desire of the Queen our soveran, that by her consent they might appoint the day and place in their dominions, that the same might be tried by the said law of armes, in their Hienesse presence or their deputies. The whilk day and place, I promise, by the faith of a gentleman, to keepe, providing alwise that their Majesties, by open proclamation sall give their assurance to me and my companie to passe and repasse through their countries. What just occasion I have to desire the King of France and Queene of England to be judges of the triell, I remitt to the readers and hearers judgment. And so I give warning to the rest of the murtherers, by thir presents, to prepare themselves; for they sall have the like offer made unto them, and their names given in in writt, that they may be knowen to all men."

Page 355, line 17. *Lett the reader judge, &c.*—The bastard Bishop had no power, be the laws of the Realme, to constitute any Judges in any such actions, only he arrogated this power to himself be vertue of a Commission of Jurisdiction granted to him be the Queen the year before, whereof the last Generall Assembly complained to the Nobility, be a letter penned for the purpose, which I have sett down before in the own place. *Lett the reader here judge upon what intention this Commission of Jurisdiction was given to him before the murther of the King, and before the last Generall Assembly. This action was intended and ended within ten days.* It appeareth that this process was led before the Parliament time, and that she was moved to pershew for divorcement, not only for fear of her life, but also, as the Manuscript which I have seen relateth, that the restitution of her Brother to his Father's lands at the Parliament, might not be hindered.

Page 358.—THE QUEENE EXCUSETH THE DISPARAGMENT OF THE MARIAGE TO THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE GWISES. The Queene knowing verie weill what evill opinion the King of France and the Gwises wold conceave of this mariage, she sendeth William, Bishop of Dumblane, to France, with instructions how to

excuse her, and to grace the mater itself. The instructions are prolixe, sett down at large by Buchanan, and translated by Holinshed; but the summe is this:—To excuse her to the King and her Uncles, that she had concluded a mariage before she advertised them: to make an ample narration of Bothwel's good service to her from time to time; how nothing could content him for recompense of his deserts, but this matche, which, when he could not effectuat by secreit meanes, he used violence. How he had obtained in time of Parliament a writting, with the hands of the Nobilitie sett thereto, wherein they not onlie assented to the mariage, but also promised to spend their life and their goods for the accomplishment thereof, and to be utter enemies to all that sould oppose unto it: how to induce them to consent, he perswaded them, that it was not done against her minde. How this was keeped secreit from her till foure dayes after, having a convenient time and place, he sett upon her in the hie way, with a strong band, when she was comming frome her deare sonne, and caried her to Dumbar; for which violence he humblie craved pardone, lamenting his owne fortune, to have so manie offended with him, whom he had never offended; but speciallie, that he was burthened with the murther of the King. That he was not able to sustaine the malice of his adversaries, except he maried her; and solemnlie swearing that he sould neverthelesse obey her, and serve her, as long as he lived, after the same manner that he did before; and how, when she could not be moved thereunto for no requeist or promise he shewed unto her what he had obtained of the Nobilitie, what they had promised by their bands; whereat she was astonished. How finding herself a prisoner under the power of another man, and the Nobilitie to have vowed to further him, and herself left as a prey alone, and he in the meane time did urge importunatlie, and gave no leasure to advise, she was compelled, after she had a littl settled her owne anger, to consider his demand, his good offices in times by past, the hope she had of continuance in the same. How hardlie the people wold suffer a stranger to rule over them; and that a people by nature factious, could not be keeped under

subjection, unlesse her authoritie were underpropped and practised by some man able to bridle the insolencie of rebells. That seing they wold force her to marie, and yitt could not suffer a forrane prince, it behoved her to choose a husband among her subjects; and seeing none for nobilitie of a house, wisdome and valour, vertues of bodie and minde, was equall to the Duke of Orknay, she commanded her owne passions, and submitted her self to the consent of the Nobilitie: how that he thereafter urged haste, and never ceased till the mater was finished. And, therefore, seeing things done cannot be undone, to desire them to take all things in good part, and to professe friendship to him, now her husband, as they wold doe to her, even as if all things had beene done with their advice and consent, seeing what he did with some peece of rashnesse, may be imputed to his immoderat affection toward her.

Page 368. The Generall Assembly of the Kirk was holden the 25th day of June [1567], at Edinburgh, in the Nether Tolbooth. Mr George Buchanan, Principal of Sanct Leonard's College, was chosen Moderator.

In the first Session the Lairds of Dun and Barganie, wer appointed to request the Lords of Secret Counsell to assist the Assembly with their presence. Some were appointed to decide questions which were to be proposed, and to revise the Order of Excommunication penned be Mr Knox, and to report their judgment to the Assembly.

In the second Session, another Assembly was indicted to be holden the 20th day of the nixt moneth. It was ordained that missives should be written to some Earles, Lords, Barons, to require their presence, and Commissioners appointed to direct or deliver the missives. The names of the Lords, Earles, Barons, to whom the said missives were to be sent follow: —Earles Huntley, Argile, Cassils, Rothes, Crauford, Marshall, Menteith, Glencairne; Lords Boyd, Drummond, Sanquhar, Hereis, Cathcart, Yester, Master of Graham, Fleming, Living-

stone, Forbes, Salton, Glames, Ogilvie, Master of Sinclar, Gray, Oliphant, Methven, Ennermeth, Master of Somervell; Barons of Lochinvar, Garlies, the Shirreff of Air, Glenurquhart, Sir James Hamilton of Boninton; Commendators, Arbrothe, Kilwinning, Dunfermline, Sanct Colmes, Newbottell, Halyrudhouse.

The tenor of the missives sent to the saids Earles, Lords, Barons, and Commendators of Abbeyes, followeth: [See line 11.]

Page 371. The Earle of Bothwell destitute of all help, and despairing to recover his former place and dignity, fled first to Orkney, from thence to Hethland Isle, where through want and penury he was reduced to great straits. The best shift he could make was to be a pyrate. The Queen was requested to separate herself from Bothwell; which she obstinately refuseth, professing she had rather beg with him, than reign without him. Great division was among the Lords, the avengers of the murther looked for concurrence, at least of the better part. But it fell out otherwise; for the envy and hatred of the people, was now, *&c.* [See line 18.]

Page 386. BOTHWELL FLYETH TO DENMARK.

Upon the first day of September, the Laird of Grange, accompanyed with divers gentlemen, came to Schetland to apprehend Bothwell, but he escaped and went to Denmark, where he was committed to ward, because he declared not plainly whence he came, and whither he was going. But afterwards being knowen be some merchants, he was imprisoned in close prison, where he dyed ten years after, mad and miserable for filth, want of necessaries, and other incommodities. They took, notwithstanding, three ships, apprehended the young Laird of Tallow, with diverse others. The same fifth day of September, Mr James Balfour, commonly called the Parson of Flisk, having received a great sum of money from the Regent, rendered the Castle of Edinburgh, whereof the Regent soon after made the Laird of Grange, Captain, unworthy of such trust.

Page 388. The Parliament was holden the 15. day of December [1567], at Edinburgh, &c. [Calderwood in his larger Manuscript, enumerates the titles of the several acts passed in this memorable Parliament, and transcribes the 19th and 20th Acts, which he says "are not extant in the Acts of Parliament lately printed, but purposely, as appeareth, left out." The edition referred to is that which was published at Edinburgh, by Sir John Skene, in 1597. These Acts, "Anent the retention of our Soveraign Lordis Motheris person," &c., were printed in the editions 1568, and 1575; and are likewise contained in Mr Thomson's publication of the "Acta Parl. Scotiæ," vol. iii. pp. 27, 28.]

Page 392. A little before this time, Buchanan wrote that excellent Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, where is maintained, that the Estates of the Realme have power to create and deprive Kings. This Book he dedicated afterward to the King in the year 1579. He was so far from repenting that he wrote it, that he thought none now fitter to dedicate it unto, than the young King.

Page 393. The Bishop of Galloway accused for neglect of preaching, and overseing the Kirks within his jurisdiction these three years bygone, and attending upon Court, Session, and Secret Counsell; he granted that he offended in all which was laid to his charge; yet, upon some considerations, not expressed in the Register, his commission was continued till the nixt Assembly, with admonition to be diligent in visitation.

Pages 428-472. [The Papers here inserted, as subscribed by the Commissioners, in the proceedings relative to Queen Mary, at York, in 1568, appear to have been copied by Calderwood in his MS. of 1627, from some Memorials of Bishop Lesley: See pp. 446, 466, 471. They are not contained in his larger Manuscript.]

Page 435, line 4. *Johne, Rossen*—Johne Rossen. That is, John (Lesley,) Bishop of Ross.

Page 470. THE CONTROVERSIE BETWIXT THE REGENT AND THE DUKE [OF CHATTELHERAULT.]

While the Regent was in England, the Queene her faction troubled the countrie at home, excited by her letters putting them in hope of her returne within short time, for the matche betwixt her and the Duke of Norfolke made her confident. She desired them not to skarre at the name of truce; to tak so manie castells and holds as they might, that in case of warre they might be the more able to overcome their adversars. Argyle came to Glasgow with 1500 men. Others of that faction dwelling beside repaired to him. The Hammiltons desired him to invade and spoile the barons and gentlemen of Lennox; but his friends disswaded him, in respect they had been friendlie to his house for manie ages bygane. "Lett the Hammiltons," said they, "whome the cause concerneth neerer, doe it; it was eneugh for him to assist them." After few dayes, not resolving nor agreing, they dissolve without anie further attempt.

The Frenche finding that they could not draw the Erle of Murray to their faction, thought it best to stirre up the Duke against him, who was then in France living secreitlie, attended upon with a man or two; for they might not spaire money, in respect of the troubles in France. The fittest time, in their judgment, was when the Regent was out of the countrie. He is broght to Court, some few French crowns bestowed upon him, and manie faire promises made unto him. Whill he is returning home through England, he is importuned by his friends to solicite the Queene to move the Regent to resigne the Regentship to him, seeing that place was due to him, as neerest in blood and nixt in succession, by the lawes of all nations, speciallie of this countrie, and some exemples were alledged to prove the same. It was answered, that he demanded a thing which was not onlie contrare to the lawes, but also unjust of itself; for our ancestors, in the days of Kenneth the Third, did establish this order, that the nixt in blood sould be advanced to the place of the deceased King to eschew the treacherous murthers of the King's families;

And becaus it was found by experience, that often times the right of succession did fall upon childrein, or heyres unfitt for government, it was ordeaned, that he sould be chosen administrator and wardan of the commonwealth who was judged to be wisest, providing he was of a noble house and good estate; and that this course hath beene keeped these six hundreth years bypast. Sindrie exemples were alledged, as when Thomas Randulfe, Erle of Murray, Donald Erle of Marr, Andrew Murray, Johne Randulfe, and Robert Stewart, were chosen governours after the deceasse of King Robert Bruce; Sir Alexander Livingston chosen governour during the minoritie of King James the Second, howbeit he was nather of kin to the King, nor nobilitated, but onlie knighted; and, at the same time, Johne Kennedie, Erle of Cassils, the King's kinsman, by King James the First his sister, the Erle of Angus, and the Erle Douglas, of kin likewise to the King, were then living. Siclyke foure tutors were chosen to King James the Third, by voice, and not in respect of blood. That the Duke himself obteaned the place rather through hatred of the people at Cardinall Beton than for anie clame he could justlie make, and sold it within few yeeres, after he had ruled with crueltie and covetousnesse. That it was unjust, it was evident; for what can be more dangerous than to committ young childrein or infants to the tutorie of those who wishe or looke daylie for the death of their pupills?—These things being thus debated before the Counsell of England, the Queene, by her counsell, declared, that he craved an unjust thing, and that he sould not looke for anie aide of her. And becaus she had promised to the King's Commissioners that he sould not gett his pasport to returne home before they had gotten their licence, he was charged to stay till they had taken leave, becaus he minded no other thing by preventing them, but to trouble the countrie in their absence.

Page 474, line 6. PROCLAMATION OF THE EARL OF ARGILE.

Archibald Erle of Argile, Lord Campbell and Lorne, Justice-Generall of our realme of Scotland, and Lieutenant to our Sove-

rane Ladie, the Queen's Majestie of this realme, with the advice of the noblemen being present with us of her Counsell: to our lovits, &c.—Forsameekle as it is notourlie knowne to all and sundrie our Soverane Ladie's true lieges and subjects, how her Grace was compelled and driven by ane force of certane her Grace's unnaturall subjects, conspirators and rebels, to passe furth of her own realme, in England, for refuge and meere necessitie of her life; and she being in the realme of England, were layed to her charge by her Conspirators, diverse odious and abominable crimes, they thinking therethrough, and through their fained narration, and falselie setting furth to other nations, to make her Grace detestable and abominable to all Christiane princes; and to the effect forsaid, and for setting furth their false and ill-invented purpose, conceaved in their hearts against her Grace, past in England, and persevered and accused her Grace's person of the same, tending therethrough to have broght her Grace to a shamefull confusion; and the said Conspirators accusation against her Grace being heard before certane commissioners of England, did their utter diligence that was in them, in accusing her Grace of the samine, was honourablie, substantiouslie, and justlie refelled by her Grace's commissioners, to their ignominie and turpitude: And the said Conspirators seing they could not bring that wicked purpose and intent against her Grace's person to passe, through their false-invented crimes, conspired by them against her Majestie to sett fordward their wicked pretence; heaping treason upon treason, and for the destruction of her Grace, her Grace's sonne our Prince, and this our native realme and nobilitie thereof, have offered to the Queen of England, to putt our Prince's person in her hands, together with the deliverance of the strenths and castells of Edinburgh and Stirline, in the hands of England, to be keeped and used by them to the saids Queen's behove, and to doe that thing that lyeth in their power, to put all the remanent strenths of this realme, siclike, in their hands.

And for further bringing this realme, the nobilitie, the whole inhabitants therof, to utter ruine, destruction, subjection and

boundage, our said Prince being delivered in England, and strenths forsaids in English men's hands, it is provided by the saids Conspirators, that in case the said Prince decease, or be putt doun in the realme of England, without succession of his bodie, (as may utterlie appeare,) the Erle of Murray sall take this realme of Scotland, to be holden of the Queen of England as tributar and in few; by the whilk, peece and peece, they sall draw the whole realme, nobilitie, and ancient blood therof, in miserable servitude and boundage, and to be slaves, sicklike as we have beene in the Balliol's time. And sen the same is invented and conspired by three or foure perverse persons, now start up to honours, and not of the ancient blood of this realme, it is most detestable and slanderous to us among all nations, sen the whole Nobilitie and commonaltie of this realme is not participant of this high and treasonable attempt laitlie come to their eares, to suffer the same tak effect; but the same sall raise all their hearts, as true subjects of the realme, to gainstand and resist it to the uttermost of their power, with the blood of their bodies and whole forces. And als, not doubtand, but as sa manie of the Nobilitie as were adjoyned and partakers with the said Erle of Murray in other effaires, will not assist nor concurre with thir conspirators in the treasonable and high attemptats forsaids, to the subversion and destruction of the whole realme, and nobilitie of the same, as also, of themselves, by processe of time, as others; but will oppone them to the uttermost of their lives, and to concurre with us in keeping of the saids Prince, and preservation of the strenths forsaids, and defending the libertie of our realme from thraldome and servitude, notwithstanding of anie particular commerce that hath happened among ourselves in time bygane: And sen the odious interprise is of veritie, and we surelie advertised therof by our Soverane Ladies writting, we cannot of our ductie conceale the same, but thoght good to make it notoure to all her lieges both to burgh and land, als weill to regalitie as royaltie, and speciallie, to the lieges of our said Prince, captans, and keepers of our said castells and fortalices, as others, to be in readinesse to resist and again-

stand the same, when time serveth, that they may not pretend anie ignorance in times comming.

Our will is, in our Soveran's name, ye passe to the Mercat croce, and there make publict intimation, by open proclamation of thir our letters, to all and sundrie, that they and everie one of them als weill regalitie as royaltie, both to burgh and land, betwix sextie and sexteene yeeres, and all others fensible persons, to be in readinesse, and come fordward bodin in fear of warre with * * dayes furnishing after their comming; and to suche place as they sall be required and appointed, upon twenty-four houres warning, for resistance of away-taking of our said Prince, to be delivered in England; and als, to resist the deliverance of the castells and fortalices, saving and preservation of this realme of Scotland from thraldome, boundage, and subjection, under the paine of tynsell of life, lands, and goods, as ye will answere to us heirupon. The whilk, &c.

Given under our Signet, and subscribed with our hand.

Page 477, line 2, *not far from Durham*. I find in a manuscript that Lethington dissuaded the Duke and his favourers to attempt any thing in that journey against the Regent, because it could not be accomplished without great slaughter of friends, but advised him to lett alone, for he and others should find a time convenient enough afterward; which they found indeed.

Page 490. The same moneth of July [1569], William Stewart, Lyon Herald, who had been crowned King-at-Arms be the Regent himself, was taken, and after convict to ane assise of witchcraft, and burnt. He had fled to Dumbartone for conspyracy of the Regent's death, but was taken in the town of Dumbartone, be the Laird of Houston, and sent to the Regent.

Page 491, line 5, *exhibited to exerce*—inhibited to exerce.

Page 504. The Assembly appointed the Superintendent of

Lothian, Mr Knox, Mr John Craig, and Mr David Lindsay, to revise the Acts of the Generall Assemblies, and note the Acts which concern the common affairs of Superintendents and Ministers, and cause the same be printed, and also the form of Excommunication, with the inauguration of the Superintendents and Ministers. It was ordained, that such as came to the Assembly repaire in due time, before the beginning of the same, otherwise to proceed against them.

[In Calderwood's larger MS., immediately after the above paragraph, there follows, "The Deposition of Nicholas Hawart called Paris Frenchman, born in Paris, upon the death and murther of umquhile the King, &c." It occupies several pages of the MS., and has been printed by Anderson and Goodall.]

Page 513, line 20. *How heavie, &c.* [In MS. 1636, the next three lines are deleted, and the following passage interlined:—]

The heart of Mr Knox was so heavie and dolorous after the murther of the Regent, that the day following (being the Lord's Sabbath), in the closure of his sermon, hee publiklie bewailed the great losse that the Church and State had, by the death of that vertuous nobleman, and declared, that as God in his mercie giveth good and wise Rulers, so hee taketh them away from a people in his wrath; yea, in a most mournfull maner hee poured forth the griefe and sorrow of his soule by fervent supplication before the Lord as followes: "*O Lord, what we shall adde to the former petitions we know not,*" *&c.*

Page 525, line 16. *Yee sall know my answer afterward.* [The rest of this paragraph is altered by Calderwood, by interlining, and marginal additions, as follows, in MS. 1636.]—The next preaching day, John Knox being in the pulpit, the forgers of the former fictitious writing shuffled into his hand, in an unknown manner, (amongst the papers which contained the names of sick persons who desired the prayers of the Church) a little ticket, wherein were contained these words, "Take up the man whom

you accounted another God." John Knox finding the said ticket, and having privatlie read the same, he put it up in his pocket without expressing any commotion, and went on with his prayer and sermon. At the end of the sermon, having rehearsed the contents of the forged conference above mentioned, he declared that the Devil, the father of lies, was the cheefe master of that letter, whosoever was the penman, and threatened that the contriver, who had made that horrible murther of the late Regent, (whereat all good men have occasion to be sorrie) the prime motive and subject of his mirth, should die in a strange land, where he should not have a friend neer him to hold up his head. Mr Thomas Matland [Maitland], the author of the foresaid letter, and of the insulting speeches above specified, (a young youthful gentleman bearing small affection to the Good Regent), having heard John Knox his communication, confessed the truth of what he had done to his sister, the Ladie Trabrowne. But John Knox, (said he), was raving to speake of hee knew not whom. His sister replied, with tears in her eyes, That none of John Knox his threatnings fell to the ground without effect. And so it came to passe in the prediction foresaid, for shortlie thereafter, the young gentleman having gone beyond seas to travell, he died in Italy, while he was going to Rome, having no knowne man to assist him, much lesse to lament him.

Page 546. *In the time of holding this Convention*, Mr Knox received diverse letters out of England. Laurence Vinfrede, [Humfredus or Humphrey,] Doctor of Divinity, desired him to sett down in writ, the life and deathe of the Regent, lately and shamefully murthered. Mr Willock was grieved that he could not writt what he thought of the cruelty of these bloodie beasts, that devised and practised that abominable and bloodie fact. Mr Goodman, after his dolorous complaint, writeth thus, "The Flower of Scotland," &c. [See line 9.]

Page 546. The Convention being dissolved without any deter-

mination; the Earle of Morton, bewitched also be the Secretarie, left Edinburgh and went to Aberdour, of purpose, as some alleged, to consult with the Secretarie's band, and conferred with Huntly and Athole in Drummen, whereof the godlie conceived no small jealousy.

Page 550, line 12. *Innernieth*—Innermeath. Line 16, [insert a point after *Maitland's* name: the *Comptroller* was Sir William Murray.]

Page 550, line 17. This letter dyted be the Secretarie, was not subscrived be all these whose names are here underwritten. They would have the Queene of England believe that their number was greater than it was. Therefore they sett the names of some who had no medling with them, nor promised any such thing, namely the Earle of Marschall and Lord Forbess.

Page 565, line 18, *The bird in the cage*, I meane, *the Secretar*.

Page 567. QUEENE ELIZABETH'S ANSWERE TO THE LORD'S LETTERS. In the meane time, the Queene of England directed letters to the Erle of Sussex, which concerned the affaires of Scotland, the copie whereof followeth:

"ELIZABETH R.

"Right trustie and weil beloved cousine, we greet you weill; This day we have receaved your letters of the 28th of the last moneth, with all other letters sent frome Scotland, and mentioned in your letters, whereunto answere is desired to be given, before the 10th of this moneth, which is a verie short time, the weightiness of the maters, and the distances of the places considered. Nevertheless, we have, as the shortnesse of time could suffer, resolved to give this answere following, which we will that you, by warrant heirof, sall cause to be given in our name to the Erle of Lennox, and the rest of the Noblemen conveened with him.

When it is by them, in their letters and writtings alledged, that for laike of our resolute answere concerning the establishing of the regiment of the realme under their young King, great inconvenience have happened, and therefore they have differed now at their last convention, to determine of the samine, who sall have the place of governour, until the 21st of this moneth, before which time they require to have our advice in what person or persons the government of that realme sall be established: We accept verie thankfullie the good will and reputation they gave us, in yeelding so franklie, to require and follow our advice in a mater that toucheth the state of their King, their selves, and realme, so neere, wherein, as we perceave, that by our former forbearing to intermeddle therein, they have taken some discomfort, as thogh we wold not have regard to their state and suretie; so, on the other part, they of their wisdoms ought to think, that it might be by the whole world evil interpret in us, to appoint them a forme of governement, or a governour by name: for that howsoever we sould meane weill if we sould doe so, yit, it could not be without some jealousie or scruple in the heids of the estats, nobilitie, and communitie of that realme, that the government therof sould be by me speciallie named and ordained. So as finding difficultie on both parties, and yit, mislyking most, that they sould tak anie discomfort by our forbearing to show our minde therin, we have thoght in this sort for to proceid.

Considering with ourselves, how now that realme had beene a good space of time ruled in the name of their King, and by reason of the base age governed heretofore by a verie carefull and honourable person, the Erle of Murray, untill that by a mischeevous person, (an evill exemple), he was murthered, whereby great disorder and confusion of necessitie had, and will more follow, if determination be not made of some other speciall person or persons, to take the charge as governour, or superior ruler, speciallie for administration of law and justice; we cannot but verie weill allow the desire that these Lords have, to have some speciall governour to be chosen. And therefore, being weill assured, that their

owne understanding of all other is best, to consider of the state of that realme, and to decerne of the abilities and qualities of that realme, and everie person meit and capable for such a charge, we sall better satisfie ourselves to allow of anie whome they, by their commoun consent, sall first choose and appoint to that purpose, than of anie to be by us aforehand uncertainlie named. And that becaus they sall perceave that we have care of the person of their King, who by neernesse of blood, and in respect of his so young yeeres, ought to be verie tender and dear to us, we sall not hide our opinion frome them. But if they sall all accord to name his grandfather, our cousen, the Erle of Lennox, to be the governour alone, or joyntlie with others, (whome we heare to be in the meane time, by their commoun consent, appointed Lieutenant-Generall,) reason moveth us to thinke, that none can be chosen in that whole realme that sall more desire the preservation of the King, and be more meit to have the government for his safetie, being nixt to him in blood, of anie nobleman of that realme, or ellis where.

And yit, heirby, we doe not meane to prescribe to them this choise, except they sall of themselves, fullie and freelie allow therof. Further more, we wold have them weill assured, that whatsoever reports or devices are, or sall be spread or invented, that we have alreadie yeelded, or minde to yeeld to alter the state of the King or governement of that realme, the same are without just cause or grounds by us, given. For as we have alreadie advertised them, that althogh we have yeelded to heare, (which in honour we could not refuse), what the Queene of Scots, or her part sall say and offer, not onlie for her owne assurance, but for the wealth of that realme, yitt, not knowing what the same will be that sall so be offered, we meane not to breake the order of law and justice, by advancing her cause, or prejudging her contrarie, before we sall deliberatlie and assuredly, see, upon the hearing of the whole form, place, necessarie and just cause so to doe. And, therefore, finding that realme ruled by a King, and the same affirmed by lawes of that realme, and, therefore, invested by Coro-

nation, and other solemnities used and requisite, and generallie so receaved by the whole Estats, we meane not, by yeilding to heare the complaints or informations of the Queene against her Sonne, to doe anie act, whereby to make conclusion of governments. But, as we have found it so, to suffer the same to continue, yea, not to suffer it to be altered by anie meanes that we may impeshe, as to our honour it doeth belong, and as by our late actions hath manifestlie appeared, untill by some justice and cleare cause, we sall be directlie induced otherwise to declare our opinion.

And this, we wold have them to know, to be our determination and courtesie that we meane to hold, wherein we trust they, for their King, may see how plainlie and honorablie we meane to proceid, and how little cause they have to doubt of us, whatsoever to the contrarie they have, or sall have: And on the other part, we pray them, of their wisdoms, to thinke how unhonorablie, and contrare to all humane order it were, for us, when the Queene of Scotland doeth so manie wayes require to heare her cause, and doth offer to be ordered by us in the same, as weill for maters betwixt ourself and her, as betwixt her self and her Sonne, and his partie of that realme. Against which offers no reason could move us to refuse to give eare, that we sould aforehand openlie and directlie, before her causes be heard and considered, as it were, give a judgement or sentence either for ourselves, or for them whome she maketh to be her contraries.

Finallie, ye sall admonishe them, that they doe not, by misconceiving our good meaning towards them, or by indirect assertions of their adversaries, grounded upon untruthes, hinder or weaken their owne cause in suche sort, as our good meaning towards them sall not take such effect towards them, as they sall desire, or themselves have neid of. All this our answere, ye sall cause be given them, and lett them know, that for the shortnesse of time, this being the end of the secund day of this moneth, we nather could make anie longer declaration of our mind, nor yitt, write anie several letters unto them, as if, time might have served, we wold have done. 2. Julij 1570."

VOLUME THIRD.

Page 8, line 11, *a Letter invented by Sir James Balfour, and convoyed, as it were sent from Huntlie to the Duke,* the tenor whereof followeth :—

PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS be advertised, according as was agreed among us that if it were possible, I should draw the adverse party in thir bounds to the effect the purpose ye know might be performed with the greater ease in their absence from these parts, now the matter hath so succeeded that they are come in thir bounds, So that easily the purpose may be performed which your Lordship knoweth is peremptor, and such as hereafter we shall never have pingle in this cause, your Lordships knoweth your moyen is sure enough, and will not faill you, and in absence of their forces, although at the first it should not succeed, yet there can be no relief against you, I shall not fail to hold them doing in this countrey, yea if it were to give them battele, which howsoever it fall ye need not take care, so the peremptoric be well handled, your Lordship is wise enough, I fear nothing but their sudden retreat. If they pass Dundie or Perth I shall have some on their tailes that they shall not find so sudden passage. But they shall be stayed a season. Diligence and celerity is most requisite, for therein consisteth all enterprises, and it will stand our adversaries on the head of their play. My Lord Herries and Lochinvar have written to me that they shall not fail at the time appointed, howsoever they have given out to the countrey that they will be slow, lest our enemies suspect. Be circumspect and warie, that the enterprise be not disclosed. If it be accomplished in their absence, ye will have small difficulty. The man in the Craig will keep his promise, and they be-south will doe their part; so wishing you to have good success, I commit your L. to the protection of God.

Albeit this letter was craftily devised &c. [See line 23.]

Page 9. The Regent's proclamation against Huntley, dated Linlithgow, 5th August 1570, in Calderwood's larger manuscript is given at full length, from the copy "printed at Edinburgh be Robert Lekprewik."

Page 11, line 22. *The Queen of England sent Secretarie Cecill and Sir Walter Melmant* (in MS. 1636, *Melmart.*) [Here Calderwood has mistaken the name of Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who accompanied Sir William Cecil, in holding this conference with Queen Mary.]

Page 19, line 21. "*Fall what may fall, the Lion shall be lord of all.*" This mystery coming to the knowledge of Mr Randulf, he advertised the Erle of Sussex, willing him to communicate this with the chief in Court. In the meantime was forged this prophecy, whether in England or in Scotland it is uncertain:

The Howlet shall lead the Bair to his bain;
The Court of England it is so wanton,
Shall shortly be brought to confusion:
The Queen of England shall die the 12th year of her reign.

Page 29. The Queen of England's Answer to the Regent's Letters.

[The following is a copy of Queen Elizabeth's letter:]

Right trusty and well-beloved Cousin, we greet you well, doing you to understand, that we have received from the Commendator of Dunfermling your letters, with such other writings as you have willed him to declare unto us, and likewise as he is very weel able for his wisdom and sufficiency for to do, he hath declared to us such things as on your behalf he hath to declare unto us, &c., whereby we doe very well perceive the good-will which you and the rest that are with you in that realme bear toward us, and the regard ye seem to have of us, and for answer to these things which ye have sent to us, and to that which the Commendator hath declared unto us further, because they consist of many

and sundry points and be of great weight and importances, and require a further time to be deliberated upon, we have for this present resolved no farther therein, then the said Commendator shall inform you, referring our further answer and resolution to the coming thither of your commissioners, who were looked for to have been here before this time, and so much the rather we have done so, because the said Commendator doth judge, that before he shall be able to return unto you, they will be near upon their arrival here. But of one thing we most at this time remember you, and require you to consider thereof, as there follow no such inconvenience be the same as otherwise it most needs doe, which is this, our request was that the abstinence of hostility betwixt both parties should be agreed upon, either for six weeks or two months, for your party hath agreed but for six weeks, and the Queen of Scots part hath agreed for two months, wherefore to avoid this inconveniencie, and that the said Queen and her part have no cause to complean hereof, nor blaim us herein, we require and pray you to agree also to keep the said abstinence, for the full two monthes, so as neither party vary therein, and considering that this space of time being already well spent, and will not suffer the treaty of the commissioners, we think it meet that there be a further abstinence agreed upon of both parties, and that the same be extended to March, whereunto we pray you to agree and with speed to advertise us of your resolution therein, for the said Queen's part did agree the first time upon an abstinence not only of two months but for so long a time as we should think meet, which agreement the said Abbot had seen here under their hands and seals. In case therefore ye doe agree to this our second request, we will, upon advertisement thereof unto us (which we require you may be done with all convenient speed) procure the like renewing from the saids Queen's part, under their hands and seals.

Given under our signet at our manor at Hampton Court the 7 day of December 1570 and thirteenth year of our reign. Your loving friend, ELIZABETH R.

Page 33, line 22. *He made a roustie ryme, &c.*—The Captain himself made a roustie ryme, which went from hand to hand, wherein he reproched bitterly the Lord's mantainers of the King's authority, and aggreged the injuries alledged done to the Queen. [Of this "roustie rhyme" an extract is given in the note to page 42. In the volume of "Scotish Poems of the Sixteenth Century," edited by Sir John G. Dalyell, the verses are published under the title of "Grange's Ballet;" but it probably was written by Robert Semple, rather than by Kirkaldy of Grange, the Captain here alluded to, and not Captain Melvill.]

Page 59, last line. *The Bishop was hanged at Sterline the sixt of Apryle.* Maister George Buchanan wont mirrilie to say, that this Bishop did never a good turne, but when he put his head in the widdie. This Latine epigrame following was affixed upon the gibbet—

Cresce diu felix Arbor, semperque vireto
Frondibus, ut nobis talia poma feras.

THE EPIGRAME IN ENGLISH.

Long grow goode tree, and flourish every yeare,
That on thy branches such frute thou mayest beare.

[MS. 1636.]

Page 59, line 5, *and carried him* (Darnley) *furth* to the gate made in the wall to the yairds nixt adjacent, and after a sign given, the house was sett on fire. This came to light after this manner: John Hammilton, a chief actor in his horrible murther, *was so troubled in conscience, &c.*

Page 60, line 10, *to depose the Regent*, and choose another, and to choose the Laird of Grange Lieutenant. *Huntly came to Edinburgh the 8th of Aprile. The Secretare came to Leith the* 10*th of Aprile, at night, and was born up with six workmen, with sting and ling,* Mr Robert Matland holding up his head. When they had put him at the Castle-gate, every workman got three shillings,

whereat they grudged. The Lord Hume was not a little offended that he behoved to remove out of his chamber and leave it to him. Upon Saturday the 14th of Aprile the Lord Hereis and Maxwell, *with the Laird of Lochinvar, &c.* [See line 14.]

Page 77, line 11, *foure gabrons*—foure gabions; page 78, line 4, *their own gabrons*—their own gabions, (that is, large wicker baskets filled with earth, used in entrenchments.)

Page 100, &c. [In this part of his larger History, Calderwood has inserted copies of various papers connected with the siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, the taking of Dunbarton Castle, and the proceedings of Parliament. They are chiefly derived from the Memorials of Richard Bannatyne, and are too long for quotation.]

Page 105, *Dumlanrig*, (here and elsewhere, for) Drumlanrig.

Page 105, line 18. GOLD AND ARMOUR INTERCEPTED.
[In MS. 1636, this paragraph is as follows:—]
Upon the last of June, so much gold as the Queene might spare of her dowrie out of France was found be the diligence of the Lord Lindsay, in a coffer brought here be Johne Chisholm, which arrived at the Weemes. In the shippe wer found haquebuts, corslets, murrions, greit bullets, and saltpetre to make powder. Monsieur Virack come hither in this shippe, and was sent to St Androis. By the letters he had brought to the Lords of the Queen's faction, was perceaved, how much gold had beene delivered to Johne Chisholm.

Upon the 4th of July arrived another shippe out of France, &c. [See page 111.]

Page 162. AN ADMONITION, &c. [It is a mistake to have printed this as the title of a division; it merely forms, with the annexed extract from the second Psalm, the conclusion of Erskine

of Dun's letter to the Regent, which commences at the foot of page 156, and is dated at Montrose, 10th November 1571.]

Page 166. MINISTERS TROUBLED BY THE REBELS IN THE NORTH.

This letter following was sent to Mr Robert Pont, commissioner of Murrey, whereby the reader may perceave, how poore ministers were used in the North:

RIGHT HONOURABLE, After salutations in the Lord Jesus Christ; this present is to advertise you, that the brethrein of the ministrie within the bounds of your commission, are rigorouslie intreated. For latelie, upon the 13th day of this instant December, a certane number of them were called before the Laird of Auchindoun, and the Shireff of Murrey, and their deputs in a lieutenant court, to underly the law, for treasonable defection frome the Queen's authoritie to the King's; and for giving obedience to him, and for praying for him and his authoritie; and for breaking and controveening of the act of parliament made by the Queen's commissioners, charging all the superintendents, commissioners, and ministers, to pray for the Queene her authoritie, and Lieutenant's, in their publict sermons and prayers; and for blaspheming of her Hienesse Majestie, in calling her an idolater, adulterer, murtherer, and Jesabell. Some have dressed and componed privatlie, as this bearer will show you; others are fugitive. Some are come in will; which will is declared to be this; to renounce the King's authoritie, and to give obedience to the Queen and her authoritie in times coming, and to pray for her and her lieutenants in their publict prayers; the which they have promised, and found caution to doe. The Person of Duffus, Robert Keith, myself, and some others, desiring continuation, untill the time we might consult with you. The minister of Aberdeen, and other learned men among whom yee resort, have refused, and forced us for the verie feare of our lives, instantlie to sett souertie and caution, to underly the law in Aberdeen, the 10th day of Januar nixt; wherefore we desire you most effectuoslie, as ye tender the preservation of our lives, and as ye

wold behave yourself if ye were in our place, to lett us have your advice and consultation, and of the faithfull brethrein in these parts, how and in what maner we sall behave ourselves, for eshewing of these inconveniences. For one of two things are offered unto us; to witt, death if we be convict of treason, or ellis, obedience to the Queen's authoritie, and praying for her. Referring all other things to your good answere anent the premisses with the nixt faithfull person that cometh betwixt; and if need be, that ye hire and send to us, upon our expensses, with all expedition, the which, we doubt not but ye will doe, as our lippening is in you: And the Lord have you in his protection. From Elgin, the 15th of December, 1571.

Your brother in Christ at command,
ALEXANDER WINCHESTER, Minister at Elgine.

Page 167. CALUMNIES RAISED UPON MR KNOX.

About the 5 or 6 of January, John Law the Post of Sanct Andrews being in Edenburgh, and also in the Castle, and demanded if John Knox was banished out of Sanct Andrews, and his servant Richard dead? The Post said, He knew no such thing. The Lady Hume [in MS. 1636, Lord Hume] and others would needs threep in his face that he was banished the town, because in the yaird, he had raised some Sancts, among whom there came up the Devill with horns; which, when his servant Richard Bannatyne saw, he ran wood, and so dyed. Such calumnies did they raise against the Servant of God, because he declared to these in that house, that the Lord would punish their cruel murthers and oppression.

Page 168. THE CONVENTION HOLDIN AT LEITH.

Upon the 12th of January [1571-2] there was a Convention of Superintendents, Commissioners, Ministers, Commissioners from towns and kirks, in Leith, whose names doe follow:—

Johne Areskine of Dun Knight, Superintendent of Angus and Mearnes.

Mr Johne Spotswood, Superintendent of Lowthian.
Mr Johne Winrame, Superintendent of Fife and Stratherne.
Mr David Lindsay, Commissioner of Kyle, Carict, and Cuninghame.
Mr Robert Pont, Commissioner of Murray.
Mr Andrew Hay, Commissioner of Clidisdaill, Ranfrow, Lennox.

Commissioners of Provinces, Towns, and Kirks.

Robert Graham, for Montrose.
Mr James Halyburton, William Christesone, for Dundie.
Mr Johne Preston, Adam Foullarton, for Edinburgh.
Johne Anstruther of that Ilk, Johne Beton of Balfour, Patrick Kinninmouth, for Fife.
Mr William Lundie of that Ilk, Thomas Scot of Abbotshall, Mr Johne Young, for Irving.
James Dalrumpell, for Air.
James Cockburne and Johne Gray, for Hadinton.
William Lawder of Hattoun Knight, Robert Fairlie of Braid, James Rig of Carbarrie, James Johnston of Elphinston, for Lothian.
Andrew Ker of Fadownside, for Tiviotdaill.
Walter Cant and Mr William Balfour, for the Kirk of Leith.
Mr James Wilkie for the Universitie of Sanct Andrewes.

Barons.

Thomas Kennedie of Barganie, Johne Lokhart of Barr, Hugh Wallace of Carnall, Hugh Montgomerie of Hessilheid, Johne Neilson of Craigcalf [Craigaffie.]

Ministers.

Mr David Lindsay for Leith, Johne Duncansone for his Majestie's House, Mr Andrew Simsone of Dumbar, Johne Brand of Halyrudhous, Mr James Carmichaell of Hadinton, Alexander Forrester of Tranent, William Sandersone of Whittinghame, William Harlaw of Sanct Cuthbert, Alexander Blakhall of Cranston, Johne Burne of Mussilburgh, Johne Durie of Restalrig, Johne Clapper-

ton of [Coldstream], Mr Thomas Cranston of Peebles, Mr Peter Prymrois of Mauchlin, Mr Johne Inglis of Uchiltrie, Mr David Wemes of Glasgow, George Scot of Kirkaldie, Mr William Edmiston of Cargill, Robert Grahame of Abertill, Mr Johne Rutherfurde of [Quilt], Mr William Clerk of Anstruther, David Fergusone of Dumfermline, Peter Blakwod of [Salling], Johne Dykes of Culros, Mr James Panton [Pawton] of [Mukkart], Mr Robert Montgomerie of Dumblane, Mr George Leslie of Kilconquhar, Mr James Melvill of Menmure, James Andersone of [Kettins.]

Page 187, line 8, page 190, line 1. Mr John Colmlie, Minister of Kilbryde; and Mr John Colmlie, Archdeacon of Teviotdale. [These were one and the same person, viz., Mr John Colville, whose name Calderwood has mistaken.]

Page 207, line 11, *the Counsell and Generall Assemblie sould prescrive.* And so Mr Johne Douglas, Rector of the Universitie, an old man meeter for the grave, nor for the throne of a bishop, was consecrat Bishop.

The same day, was this pasquill following affixed upon the New College gate, and upon the kirk doore, which displeased not a littill Mr Robert Hammilton, Mr Williame Skeene, Mr Archibald Hammilton, conceaving that it tuiched them in speciall.

INSOMNIUM.

Dum secum ætheream gestans Ariadna coronam,
  Post Phæbum thecas, pellit ad alta truces,
Miranti insomnis sublustri nocte potentis,
  Munere naturæ, mens agitata fuit.
Intuitus cœlum, cœli est mihi nisa moveri,
  Nutu pollentis machina tota die;
Machina syderiis pulchre varieta figuris,
  Visa est impositas accelerare vices.
Non aliter distincta, suis elementa moventur,
  Sedibus æthereis sub regione Poli.
Subsidens gravitate solum domus ampla tegendis
  Piscibus oceanus, quam dea noctis agit.
Quadrupedum genus, et scindentibus aera pennis,
  Prepetibus volucres, quæque animata vigent.

Singula, perficiunt nullo sine murmure partes,
Natura impositas, grataque vota canunt.
Lumina dehinc vertens Mariana palatia versus,
Regales animi, celsa virumque trias
Occurrunt Vulpes, pellax, vultuque tremendus
Mustaffas, cujus Protea dextra tenet.
Obstupui tria monstra videns, quæ terra profundo
Respirans gremio pignora cara tulit.
Et procul, O rerum juvenes, devotaque diris
Pectora, quæ tantæ nos tenuere moræ?
En, triadem vocat horrizonis ululatibus ingens
Tartarus, inque suo almo adesse sinu.
Singula namque suas peragunt animantia partes;
Vos tamen imbelles, actio nulla movet.
Vulpes. Muneris immemorem triadem dant pinguia mensæ,
Fercula visceribus non tribuenda tuis.
An tibi fœmineo sunt hæc concessa terendo
Inquine, sic mundant alma statuta Patrum?
Prote. An tibi pampinea prælargum Academia lympha,
Æs dedit, ut madidis contegere comis?
Mustaffe. An tibi tales quo viscera fœda repleres,
Imperii partes res Mariana tulit?
Hæc pateris, Rector; num tecum paupere sceptro
Muneris oblitum, grandia ferre putem?
Quin caudam opponis Vulpi, quum cornua Baccho,
Quin Deus adjungens ubera lata boni?
Efficis ut tandem triadis figmenta patescant,
Nostra quibus longe lumina decipiunt.
Sic ego, sic fessis Somnus me linquit ocellis,
Claraque processit nocte abeunte dies.

Page 209. *Sessioun* 3. In consideration that the countrie of Murray is presentlie destitute of a Commissioner to visite the ministers, and plant kirks, all in one voice gave commission to Mr Johne Keith, person of Duffus, to visie ministers; plant kirks where none are; suspend and depose, as occasion sall serve; conferre benefices to qualified persons at the presentations of the just patrons; visie colledges and schooles, &c., and what he doeth in the premises, to report to the nixt Assemblie.

Tuiching questions and complaints given, or to be given in: The Assemblie appointed Mr Andrew Hay, Commissioner of the west; Johne Rutherfurd, John Craig, Alexander Arbuthnet, Robert Montgomerie, Johne Ure, William Clerk, to conveene at two houres after noone, read, consider, and give answers to the said

complaints and questions; and what they sall happen to find worthie to be registered, to report the same for that effect.

Mrs Andrew Hay, John Row, and Mr David Lindsay, were continued Commissioners of Cliddisdaill, Galloway, and Kyle, till the nixt Assemblie.

Page 210, after line 26. Anent the question, Whether if Superintendents and Commissioners to plant kirks where benefices vaike within their jurisdiction, which is at the Kirk's gift, *pleno jure*, sall give the samine to anie other than to suche as serve for the time in the Ministrie where they vaike; and that, by advice of a certaine number of Ministers nixt adjacent, to the effect that others gett not the same? Answere, Referres this to the discretion of Superintendents and Commissioners of Countreis where the benefice lyeth; requesting them to have consideration of these that travell in the Kirks, and that they be preferred to others, *cæteris paribus*.

Anent the question, Whether the Person or Vicar ought, and sould furnishe bread and wine to the communion; after long reasoning it was concluded, that the Person sould furnishe the same, unlesse the vicarage exceeded the summe of 40 pounds; and that in that case, the Vicar furnishe the same in time comming.

Pages 212, 213. [In MS. 1636, some of the paragraphs on these pages read as follows:]

PASSAGES OF BEZA HIS LETTER TO MR KNOX.

Theodore Beza directed a letter to Mr Knox dated at Geneva the 12th of Aprile 1572, which is extant among his Epistles, wherein he acknowledgeth it to be the great gift of God that the Kirk of Scotland hath the purer religion, and good order, the band to hold fast the doctrine, and beseecheth him and his fellow-labourers to hold fast these two, and to remember that if the one be lost the other cannot continue long. "But (saith he) this I would have my dear Knox, and the other Brethren, to remember that which is before your eyes: as Bishops brought furth the Papacie, so false Bishops, the relickes of Poperie, shall bring in Epicu-

risme into the world. They that desyre the Churches good and saiftie, let them take of this pestilence, and seing yee have put that plague in Scotland to flight tymouslie, I hartilie pray you that yee never admitt it againe, albeit it seeme plausible with the pretence or colour of keeping unitie; which pretence deceaved the Ancient Fathers, yea even many of the best of them."

Craigmiller, &c., defended against the Rebels.

About this tyme there was skirmishing between the horsemen of both parties. Ther wer eight or nyne slaine on Edinburgh syde, two or three on Leith syde. The mylnes about Edinburgh wer broken, and men of warre planted in Craigmillar, Merchistoun, Redhall, Corstorphine, to withhold victuals from Edinburgh, coalles and other necessaries; and when any wer apprehended carrying victuall or other necessars to Edinburgh, they wer brought to Leith and brunt on the cheeke, or condemned to the gibbet.

Mr Archibald Douglas apprehended.

Mr Archibald Douglas, parson of Dunglasse, convoyed some gold out of Flanders from the Duke D'Alva, with a Frenchman called Servie, in a frear of figges, to the rebelles in the castell; fyve thousand crounes as was reported, of which he keeped ane thousand to himself. The captaine rebuked him be letter, and said fyve hundreth might have served. He was apprehendit upon the fourtene of Aprile, and sent to Sterline.

Slaughters and Skirmishes.

The Rebells directed some soldeours to Blacknesse to embarke there; for they had directed them to the North, to Adam Gordone. Some horsemen wer directed from Leith to intercept them. They overtooke them and killed fiftene: the rest they convoyed to Leith, and fyve of the chiefe of them wer hanged. Wherupon two souldeours of Leith that wer prisoners in Edinburgh, wer brought furth and hanged upon Moutraye's trees. This slaughter was committed about the end of Aprile.

EDINBURGH IN GREAT STRAIT.

The inhabitants of Edinburgh wer in great strait for want of fyre and victualles. Instead of eall they wer forced to drink vinegar and water. Fair ludgings were demolished, namelie such as belonged to those who fled out of the toune; and ane half-marke was given for a stane weight of timber.

Page 224, line 17. "*Haste*," &c.—In the foresaid letter Mr Knox added this postscript, "*Accelera mi Frater, alioqui sero venies.*" 'Make haste Brother, otherwise you will come too late:' meaning that if he made any stay hee shuld find him dead and gone. These last words moved Mr Lowsone to take journey the more quickly. [MS. 1636.]

Page 225, line 2. The 12th of September [1572], Sir Henrie Killegrew, a gracious and godlie Englishman, came to Edinburgh, and made a certain report of that cruell Parisian massacre, conform to some advertisements which had been sent from France to England thereanent. [MS. 1636.]

Page 235, line 17. *What conference was among them was not then known.*—To the Erle of Morton hee, [John Knox] was heard to say, "My Lord, God hath given you many blessings: He hath given you wisdom, riches, many good and great friends, and is now to preferre you to the government of the realme. In his name I charge you, that you use these blessings aright, and better in times to come, nor you have done in tymes past. In all your actions seeke first the glorie of God, the furtherance of his gospell, the maintenance of his Church, and ministers; and next, be cairfull of the King, to procure his good, and the weelfare of the realme. If you shall doe this, God will be with you, and honour you. If otherwise you doe it not, God shall deprive you of all these benefits, and your end sall be shame and ignominie." These words the Erle nyne years after, at the time of his execution, called to mynd, saying, "That he had found them to be true,

and Mr Knox therin a prophet." [See this paragraph somewhat varied at page 569.]

Page 242, line 6. MR KNOX HIS BURIELL. Upon Wednesday the 26th of November, Mr Knox was buried in the Churchyard of St Giles, being conveyed be the Erle of Morton, and other Lords, who wer in the toun for the time. When he was layed, &c. [See line 9. At line 14, the inverted commas should be placed after *honour*, in line 12.]

Page 309, after line 21. The Assemblie appointeth Mr John Spotiswod, superintendent of Lothiane, Mr Clement Littill, advocate, Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Lowsone, Mr David Lindsay, Mr Alexander Arbuthnet, Mr Patrik Adamson, or anie foure of them, to revise and consider the Reply made by Mr John Duncansone, minister of the King's House, against Mr James Tyrie's last booke; and what the said brethrein find therein, to report again to the Assemblie, to the effect it may be understood, whether the said Reply may be committed to print or not. And in like manner, that the saids Brethrein, or anie four of them, peruse and consider a booke presented to the Assemblie by the Earle of Glencarne, sett out by a brother, and intituled, "Of God's Providence," and to report their judgment thereanent, to the effect foresaid.

CAMPBELL OF KINGZEANCLEUCH'S DEATH.

Page 313. Upon Fryday, the nixt after Pasche day, which was the 16th of Aprile [1574], Mr John [Davidson] his boy came to him furth of Saint Andrews, with letters, shewing to him that he was to be summoned to underly the law, the 3d day of June. Robert Campbell sayeth to him, "Brother I see I must depart out of this life, which time I long looked for. Therefore ye sall goe with expedition to my wife, and cause her furnishe you, and send some to convoy you a gateward to England, where ye sall addresse yourself to Mr Gudman, and he will find you a convoy to Rotchell.

Tak my best horse with you and ride your way with my blessing." And with that he thrusted his hand, and said, "The Lord blesse you." When Mr Johne is drawing on his boots, he sayeth with a boisterous voice, howbeit he was lying sicke in his bed, "Gird up your loynes and mak to your journey; for ye have a battle to fight, and few to tak your part, but the Lord onlie, who sall be sufficient to you." He was verie desirous to be careid home in a litter, for he wold have spoken some things to his nighbours, which he had not shewed to them before. But the way was so dirtie, and the distance so great, that it could not be obteaned. So he was content his wife, after she had dispatched her bussinesse, sould come to him.

Mr Davidsone taketh good night of him with a sorrowfull heart, and came to Kingzeancleuch; and the day following Robert Campbell his wife tooke journey to him. The Laird of Carnall disswaded Mr Johne to flee, least he sould discourage his brethrein. He answered, "Rather ere I gave occasioun of discouragement to my brethrein, I wold choose to suffer a hundreth deaths, if it were possible." So he stayed with the Lairds of Carnall, Barr, Dreghorne, Gadgirth, and sundrie other gentlemen of Kile, a certane space.

Upon Thursday, the 22d of Aprile, Robert Campbell of Kingzeancleuch his corps were broght out of Galloway, with a honorable convoy, and bureid in the kirk of Mauchlin, for whom there was a great lamentation in Kile, as ever was made for anie gentleman in Kile: for he spaired no travells nor expenses for God's cause or religioun, for which respect he was most tender with Mr Knox, and was painfull in procuring agreements betweene persons at variance.

Page 313. Robert Lickprivick printer, was summoned to underly the law, for printing of the booke, as followeth:

"Schaweth the Advocat, that where, in our Soverane Lords dearest Mother's Parliament holdin at Edinburgh, the first day of Februar, the yeere of God, 1551 yeers, by her grace's Governour

for the time, it was statut and ordained by the said Governour, with advice of the three Estats of Parliament, that no printer presume, attempt, or tak upon hand, to print any books, ballats songs, blasphemations, rymes, or tragedies, ather in Latin or English tongue, in anie time to come, untill the time the same be first seene, viewed, and examined by some wise and discreet persons, depute thereunto by the ordinars whatsomever: and therafter, a license had and obteaned from our said souerane, for imprinting of such books, under the paine of confiscation of all the printer's goods, and banishing him off this realme for ever: Not the lesse, Robert Likprivick, in the moneth of Januar last bypast, the yeare of God, 1573 yeeres or thereby, hath imprinted a little book, called, a "Dialogue or mutual talking betwixt a Clerk and a Courteour," compiled, made, and set furth by Mr Johne Davidsone, regent for the time within Sanct Leonard's Colledge, in Sanct Andrewes, to the reproache and slaunder of our Soverane Lords Regent and Secreit Counsell, impugning, reproving, and condemning the act and ordinance godlie made latelie, before the said moneth of Januar, by the said Regent's Grace and Counsell, to the ease, quietnesse, and sustentation of the ministers of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, and propagation of the glorie of God. And not the lesse most highlie impugned, reproved and condemned by the said Dialogue, and the author therof, tending to have moved the people to sedition and uproare: And not the lesse, the samine was imprinted by the said Robert, at the time forsaid, it not being seene, viewed, and examined by some wise and discreet persons deput thereto, and therafter, licence had and obteaned from our said Soverane lord and his Regent, for imprinting therof: And so, the said Robert hath thereby incurred the paines conteaned in the said Act of Parliament, to witt, confiscation of all his whole goods, and banisching him off this realme for ever: Therefore, to tak sovertie of him, to underly the lawes for saids crimes, &c."

He compeered, was convict by an assise, and therafter, committed to waird in the Castell of Edinburgh.

Page 328, after line 9. Becaus Mr Andrew Melvill will be a principall and cheefe actor heerafter in the effaires of the Kirk, I will premitt a short discourse of his life, till this sommer 1574 yeere, at what time he came home from France.

He was borne in Baldovie, a place lying within a mile to the toun of Montrose, in the yeere, 154[5] the first day of August, begottin of gentlemen and honest parents, Richard Melvill of Baldovie, brother german to John Melvill of Dysert, and Giles Abercrumbie, daughter to Thomas Abercrumbie, burges of Montrose, of the house of Murthle. He was the youngest of 9 brethrein, all left alive, when their father was slaine at the field of Pinkie, in the Erle of Angus his avantgarde. He learned his grammar in Montrose, where he entered in the Greeke, which was then taught by a Frencheman, called Petrus de Marsiliers, placed there by the Laird of Dun. He past his course of philosophie in the Universitie of Sanct Andrewes, where he studied the text of Aristotle in Greeke, which his masters understood not. Mr Johne Douglas, Provest of the Colledge, and Rector of the Universitie, wold tak him betwixt his legs in winter, and warme his hands and cheekes at the fire, and blesse him, saying, "My sillie, fatherlesse and motherlesse childe, it is ill to witt what God will mak of thee yitt." When he ended his course, he was commended for the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian, of anie young Master in the countrie.

Page 346. The Brethren having consideration that their brother Mr John Spotswood, Superintendent in Lothian, is become sickly, and not altogether able in his own person presently to visit the whole bounds alloted to him in commission, and understanding that their brother, Mr James Lowsone, Minister of Edinburgh, is purposed to pass through the countrie and visit the said bounds, hath thought meet and ordained the said Mr James to support and aid the said Mr John in his office of Visitation, and to make such supplie to him therein as he goodlie may, to the next Assembly.

Page 346. Alexander Arbuthnet, burgess of Edinburgh, presented to the Assembly certain articles for printing of the English Bible; quhairof with the Answers of the Brethren the tenour followeth:

THE ARTICLES GIVIN IN TO THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE CONCERNING THE PRINTING OF THE BIBLE; WITH THE ANSWERS OF THE KIRK THERETO.

Item, Anent the godlie proposition made to the Bishops, Superintendents, Visiters, and Commissioners in this General Assemblie, by Alexander Arbuthnet, merchant burges of Edinburgh, and Thomas Bassenden, printer and burges of the said burgh, for printing and setting fordward of the Bible in the English tongue, conforme to the proofe givin and subscribed with their hands: It is agreed betwixt this present Assemblie, and the said Alexander and Thomas, that everie Bible which they sall receave advancement for, sall be sold *in albis*, for 4 pound, 13 shilling, 4 pennies, keeping the volume and character of the saids proofes, delivered to the Clerk of the Assemblie.

Item, For advancement of the godlie and necessar work, and furtherance thereof, and homebringing of men, and others provisions for the samine: the Bishops, Superintendents, and Commissioners, bearing charge within this realme, underwrittin, viz.: James Archbishop of Glasgow, moderator, &c. have, in presence of the said Assembly, faithfullie bound and oblished them, and everie ane of them, that they sall travell and doe their utter and exact diligence, for purchasing of such advancement as may be had and obtained within everie one of their jurisdictions, at the hands of the Lords, Barons, and gentlemen of everie paroche, as also, with the whole Burrowes within the same; and sall trie, how manie of them will be content to buy one of the saids volumes, and will advance voluntarilie the foresaid price, whole, or halfe at the least, in part of payment, and the rest, at the receipt of their bookes; and sall trie, what everie Burgh will contribute to the said work, to be recompensed again in the bookes in the prices

foresaid. And so many as beis content to the advancement of the work foresaid, that the saids Bishops, Superintendents, and Visiters, collect the said summes, and inroll the samine with their names, what everie one of them gives; which roll, subscribed with their hands and money, sall be sent by them to the said Alexander and Thomas, betwixt and the last of Aprile nixt to come; and sall receave upon their deliverance of the said summes and rolls, the said Alexander and Thomas's hand-writt; to the effect they and their cautioners may be charged for the saids books, conforme to their receipt.

"*Item*, That everie persoun that is provided of old as weill as of new, be compelled to buy a Bible to their parish kirk, and to advance therefore the price forsaid; and the saids prices to be collected and inbrought by the saids Bishops, Superintendents, and Visiters, within eache bounds and shire within their owne jurisdiction, betwixt and the last day of Junie. And becaus the said act apperteanes, and is expedient to be ratified by my Lord Regent's Grace, and Lords of Secreit Counsel, and an act of Counsel to be made thereupon; the Assemblie ordeans Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith, Mr James Lowsone, minister of Edinburgh, and Alexander Hay, clerk of counsell, to travell with his Grace and Lordships, for obtaining of the samen; together with the priviledge to the said Alexander and Thomas, for imprinting of the said work. The Kirk ordeans the said Mr James and Mr David, to travell with Mr Andrew Polwart, and Mr George Young, or anie of them, for correcting of the said Bible, and to appoint a reasonable gratitude therefore, at the cost of the said Alexander and Thomas.

Item, The Kirk hath promised, to deliver the authentick copie, which they sall follow, to them, betwixt and the last day of Aprile.

"*Item*, For reforming of the said work by the said Alexander and Thomas, they have found cautioners, Archibald Seinzeour, and James Norwell, burgesses of Edinburgh, with themselves conjunctlie and severallie, that they sall deliver sa manie books, as they sall deliver advancement for perfyting of the said work,

which sall be, God willing, betwixt and the last of Marche, the yeere of God, 1576 yeeres; and the said Alexander and Thomas are bound and oblished to releeve them. (*Sic subscribitur.*)

ALEXANDER ARBUTHNET, with my hand.
ARCHIBALD SEINZEOUR.
JAMES NORWELL, with my hand.
THOMAS BASSENDEN, with my hand.

ANSWERE OF THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE TO THE SAIDS ARTICLES IN THEIR ORDER.

To the first article, answered, Referres the processe to the Counsell.

To the secund, The Kirk promises faithfullie.

The Kirk gives commissioun to the persons following, to witt, Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Lowsone, Mr David Lindsay, Mr James Carmichaell, Mr Andrew Polwart, Mr Peter Young, or anie three of them, to oversee everie booke before it be printed; and likewise oversee the labours of others that have travelled therin, to be givin in to the printing, betwixt and the last of Aprile.

Page 346, at line 25.—Therafter, the Lord Hammilton married [Margaret] Lyon, Countesse of Cassils, relict of the Erle of Cassils, cousin to the Regent, her grandmother, or gooddame, as we use to speeke, being sister to his father. But he acquired not so muche freindship in particular by them, as obloquie of the countrie in publict, both being counted accessorie to the slaughter of the Erle of Murrey, the first Regent, and Claud, cheef actor in the slaughter of the King's goodshir, the Erle of Lennox, Regent, which slaughter, the Regent and others of the nobilitie professed solemnelie they wold avenge. But now, their purpose and resolution faileth; and the revenge seemeth altogether to be neglected, and more regard had, to the slaughter of a meane man. This, *&c.*

Page 346, at the bottom.—Upon the 28th of March, the

Regent committed to ward Nicoll Udward baillie, William Naper baillie, William Little, John Morrison, Henry Nisbet, Thomas Aikenhead, Alexander Udward, and sundrie others; the cause we shall hear afterwards. [See page 483.]

Upon the 9th of May, the Regent caused all the fleshours underly the law, for forestalling of the mercats: who were convict, and putt in warde, in the Tolbuith, during the Regent's will, and after, sett at libertie upon caution. It was whispered, that they contented the Regent with a purse of money.

Page 357, after line 30.—*Sessioun* 7. Anent the supplication givin in to the Generall Assemblie, by Alexander Arbuthnet, making mention, that "Where it is not unknowne to your Wisdoms, what great worke and charge I have interprised, concerning the imprinting of the Bible; for accomplishement wherof, your Wisdoms understood, that the office of a corrector his diligence and attendance theron is most necessar: And therefore I humblie desire your Wisdoms, to requeist my Lord Abbot of Dumfermline, to licentiat Mr George Young his servant, whom I thinke most expedient to attend upon the said work of correctorie, to concurre and assist me during the time of travell, to the effect, that the notable worke begunne and interprised, may be consummat and perfyted in all points. The charges and expensses of his travells I sall reasonablie deburse, conforme to your Wisdoms discretion, so that the worke may passe fordward, and be decent, as the honestie of the same requires; wherinto, I require your Wisdoms diligent answere. And in like maner, it is not unknowne to your Wisdoms, that for the furtherance of the same godlie worke tane on hand by me, the order is tane, that the Bishops, Superintendents, and Commissioners, sould diligentlie travell, for collecting, imbringing, and execution of the charge of our Soverane Lord's letters, direct to that effect. In consideration wherof, I earnestlie desire your Wisdoms, to command and charge everie ordinar within his jurisdiction, to putt the saids letters to due executioun, and make me to be payed, conforme to the tenor of the same, wherby,

the godlie interprise of the samine may take full effect with expeditioun. And becaus your Wisdoms sufficientlie understand, the concurrence of my Lord Fewar of Orknay, sall greatlie help to the expeditioun of the said work within his Lordship's bounds, I humblie desire supplication and request to be made to the said Lord, that he wold, within the bounds of his jurisdictioun, cause obedience and payment be made, conforme to the tenor of the saids letters; whereby, I your Wisdoms Servitour, sall pretermitt no kinde of diligence, expensses, or possible power in me lyeth, sua that the said godlie work may tak full furtherance and effect, to the glorie of God, and weale of his Kirk."

The said Supplication being read and considered by the said Assemblie, they all in one voice gave commissioun to the brethrein appointed, to present the articles to my Lord Regent's Grace, to travell with my Lord Dumfermline for satisfeing the first article; and as concerning the rest, willinglie condescends to the same.

Page 362, line 27. *Mr Gilbert Towssie*—Mr Gilbert Fowlsye.

Page 363, line 5, *with the principall Ministers of the Universities* —with the principall Masters of the Universitie.

Page 368, line 32, *Givvan*—Govan.

Page 460, after line 3. At this Parliament [1579], the Acts made before anent the libertie and freedome of the Kirk, and Religion presentlie professed within the realme, were ratified. The Act made in the first yeer of the King's raigne, anent the true and holie Kirk, and these that are declared not to be of the same, was reformed, becaus of some defect and informalitie of words, which happened through fault of the printer; as followeth—

Our Soverain Lord, with advice of his Three Estates, and whole bodie of this present Parliament, hath declared, and declares the ministers of the blessed Evangell of Jesus Christ, whom God of his mercie hath now raised up among us, or heerafter sall

raise, agreing with them that now live, in Doctrine and administration of the Sacraments; and the people of the realme, that professe Christ, as he is now offered in his Evangell, and doe communicat with the holie Sacrament, (as are in the Reformed Kirks of this realme, as publictlie administered,) according to the Confession of Faith of the true and holie kirk of Jesus Christ within this realme: And deceris and declares, that all and sundrie who either gainsay the word of the Evangell receaved and approved, as the heids of the Confession of Faith professed in Parliament of before, in the yeer of God 1560 yeers, as also specified and registered in the Acts of Parliament made in the first yeer of his Highnesse raigne, more particularlie doe expresse; ratified also and approved in this present Parliament; or that refuse the participation of the Sacraments, as they are now ministred, to be no members of the said Kirk within the realme, and true Religion now presentlie professed, so long as they keepe themselves so divided frome the societie of Christ's bodie.

The jurisdiction granted to the Kirk, is declared to consist and stand in the preaching of the true word of Christ Jesus, correction of manners, and ministration of the holie Sacraments.

Item, It is declared, that there is no other face of Kirk or Religion, than is presentlie by the favour of God established within this realme; and that there be no other jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall acknowledged within this realme, other than that which is, and sall be within the samine kirk, or that which flowes therefra concerning the premisses. Mercats and labouring on Sabbath dayes, playing and drinking in time of sermon, was discharged. The sonnes of noblemen, gentlemen, and others, pretending their advancement in letters, to be the cause of their departing out of the countrie, are discharged to passe without the King's licence, containing a provision, that they sall remaine constant in the profession of the true Religion; and after their returne, are ordeaned within twenty dayes, to passe to the Bishop, Superintendent, or Commissioner of the kirks within the bounds where they arrive, or happen to make residence, to give Confession of their faith,

or ellis, to remove within forty days out of the realme. It was made indifferent, whether the President of the College of Justice, be of the temporall or spiritual Estate.

Pages 480, 583, and frequently in other pages, &c. for *Balcalquall—read* Balcanquall.

Page 501, linc 26. *J. Cheishe*—J. Cheislie. [A more full and correct list of the Subscribers to the King's Confession, is given in Row's History, (Wodrow Society edition, p. 77,) from the Original parchment, subscribed by the King and his household at Holyrood house, 28th of January 1580-1.]

Page 505, line 20, [insert as the title to this paragraph:] OBSERVATIONS UPON THE CONFESSION.

Page 506. Upon Saturday the 11th day of Marche, George Fleeke, the Erle of Morton's servant, was apprehended by Manderston, in Alexander Lawson's house, together with the said Alexander; but not without their owne consent, as was alleged, to reveale where the Erle of Morton's treasure was; a part wherof was in tarre barrells, in the said Alexander's house, as was reported. When the bootes were presented before the said George, he confessed, as the brute went, that the Erle of Morton's pose was under ground, partlie in the castell-yaird of Dalkeith, an hundred thowsand crowns, and threttie-six thowsand pund. *Item*, In Aberdour, before the gate, under a braid stone, foure puncheons of silver; two stone of uncoined gold, in Leith; also, that threescore thowsand punds of plackes and babees, halfe merks and threttie shilling pieces, was sent to Berwick to pay the men of warre. And so went the brute in the beginning, that they were payed with Scottish money.

Page 531, near the foot, *Imeronre, Bethynis, Bernoy—read* Innerurie, Brechin, Bervie.

Page 576, after line 9.—On Saturday, the 3d of June, Johne Binning, servant to Mr Archibald Dowglas, was accused for the murther of the King. He confessed Mr A. Dowglas was at the murther, and in tokin therof, lost one of his mules; and after he came in to the hous, changed his cloths, which were full of clay; and he being sent to Roploch's wynde foot, mett certan missend men, among whom, as he wald conjecture by the voice, was Mr J. Balfour's brother, Proveist of the Charterhous. This Johne was hanged, quartered, and headed.

Upon the 7th of Julie, a proclamation at the mercat croce of Edinburgh, summoning Mr A. Dowglas, sometimes parson of Glasgow, for the cruell murther of the King's father; for intercommuning with Englishmen, for the breache of peace betwixt the two realmes; for intention to have transported the King to England, in the moneth of November, December, and Januarie last bypast: The Erle of Angus for the same intentioun, and for intentioun to rescue the Erle of Morton betwixt Edinburgh and Dumbar, waiting at Braid's craigs for that effect; for not entering his person in waird beyond Spey; for holding of the castells of Tamtallan and Dowglas; for intercommuning with Masters Scroop, Randall, Bowes, and Hounsdan, English men, for breaking the peace betwixt the realmes: Archibald Dowglas, some time Constable of the castell of Edinburgh, Malcolme Dowglas of the Maynes, Johne Carmichaell younger of that Ilk, his sonne Hugh Carmichaell, James and Archibald Dowglasses, sonnes naturall to James somtyme Erle of Morton; Eckie Dowglas, *alias* Rid Eckie, George Hume of Spott, for art and part of the crimes layed to the Erle of Angus's charge: George Dowglas of Parkheid, his twa sonnes, James and George, for delivering the hous of Tothorrall. Andrew Grey of Dunmivald was forfaulted, for burning the castell of Ridcastell; and Thomas Robertsone of Glandarroche, for coining false halfe merk peeces, and fortie pennie peeces.

Upon the 17th of Julie, the King went to Tamtallan, which he receaved left void by Archibald Dowglas, sometime constable.

Upon Fryday, the 27th of August, the King, and with him the

Duke, Arran, and others of the nobilitie, communicated at the Lord's table in Edinburgh.

Upon the 28th of August, the King went to Glasgow, and stayed in these parts till the 16th of October. In the meane tyme, the Erle of Angus, and Carmichaell, with their complices, came within the countrie, and burnt Langhope and foure myles about, tooke and apprehended the captan prisoner to England.

Page 593, after line 24. The King removed out of Edinburgh to Dalkeith, the 18th of December, where the Duke had maide preparation for him foure or fives dayes before. The Erle of Arran remained in the Abbey of Halyrudhous, forbiddin by the King to goe with him to Dalkeith. Arran obteaned of the King, that Seton sould not come to Dalkeith more than he, albeit he had prepared a hundreth horse and moe, to meete the King; wherat the Lord Seton was not a little offended. In this meane time, the Erle of Arran's wife was delivered of a man-child. The King sould have beene at the baptisme, but the Duke not onlie disswaded him, but also perswaded him to command the Erle of Arran to depart out of the Abbey.

Page 594, after line 2. Upon Tuesday, the 12th of December, George Auchinfleck was shott in the bellie, at the Stinking Stile, in the same place where he had shed blood cruellie in the Erle of Morton's time, and held the basin to the Erle of Morton's hands, that same day after he had shed the blood. Johne Brand, minister, had said, that if he wold not punishe that blood shed, the stones of the calsey of Edinburgh sould remember it. The said George, howbeit he escaped with his life, confessed, that the judgment was justlie denounced against him. He was shott through the bellie by the Laird of Hasch [Casch], Bickerton to name.

Ib. Upon the 8th of Januar [1582] the Countess of Arran was delivered of a man child. Nicknevin's daughter was sent for to be midwife; but the child was not baptized till the King was moved

to come to the baptism. Arran made moyen be Blantyre, James Prestoune, James Murray for reconciliation with the Duke, which at last, after two months variance, was effectuate at the King's instance. This reconciliation was very unpleasant to good men.

About the end of Januar the King wrote a letter from Dalkeith to the Erle of Arran, subscribed with his owne hand, desiring him to compeer in presence of the Lords of Counsell upon the fyft of Februar nixt at Halyrudhous, there to give up his captanship of the guard. He obeyed [and] compeered. That office was taikin from him, and his batton brokin. He craved and obteaned the Lords declaratioun, of the faithfull discharge of his office, in keeping the King's person; craved license to goe off the countrie for five yeeres, and a warrant to reconcile some deidlie feeds among his freinds; as betwixt the Erle of Crawfurd and Maister of Glames, the Erle of Atholl and his mother, and went to Kinneill.

Page 594, after line 24. After sermon, Mr James Lowsone, Johne Durie, and Mr Johne Davidsone, conferred with the Erles of Argile and Ruthven in the counsell hous tuiching these things. Argile confessed more in that mater than they looked for. Mentioun being made of Seigneur Daveis slaughter, Mr Johne Davidsone said to the Lord Ruthven, "Your heid, my lord, will pay for that labour if things goe fordward as they are intended in this court." The other answered nothing, but looked gravelie on the mater. Mr James Lowsone undertooke to prove to the Erle of Argile, that George Dowglas's message was plaine treasoun. The Erle of Argile confessed, he had gone too farre in that mater, but promised to be ware in times comming; and said, if he saw anie thing intended against Religioun in the court, he sould forsake the intenders, and oppone himself to them. These Ministers blamed the Nobilitie verie much, as unworthie of their places, who suffered the King so to be used, to ly at Dalkeith alone with a stranger, the whole realme going to confusion; adding, that the mater might be reformed weill enough with quietness, if they wold doe their dutie.

Page 595. MR J. DAVIDSON'S CONFERENCE WITH THE KING.

Upon Fryday, the 23d of Februar, Mr Johne Davidsone, after advisement with the ministers of Edinburgh, went to the Abbey, and in presence of John Duncansone and Mr Peter Young, had this speeche following to the King, in his chamber.

"SIR, Please your Grace, The love I beare to the glorie of God, the floorishing of this Kirk, the quietnesse of this Commoun weale, and the weil fare of your Grace's person, are the onlie motives of my comming to your Grace at this present. There are three jowells precious to all that feare God in this realme; true religioun, the commoun wealth, and your Grace's person and estate. In what case religioun and the commonwealth are, and what a horrible confusion hath entered in them, is so manifest, that I need not to dilate them. But to come to the thrid, your Grace's weilfare, whose weilfare is the weilfare of both. First, beside the commoun enemies that Kings and Princes are wont to have, as flatterers, hypocrits, trators, and such like, your Grace hath neede to beware of two sort of men in speciall. One is, suche as opponed themselves to your Grace's authoritie in your minoritie, whereby they committed suche offenses, as they are not able to underly the law, and must needs therefore feare your Majestie, now being King. Remember the saying, "*multis terribilis, caveto multos.*" The other sort are these that are conjured enemeis to religioun both at home and a-field. If your Grace will call for suche godlie and loving subjects as I could name, and desire them in the name of God, as they love your Grace, to shew whome they thinke to be of thir two ranks, that your Grace knowing them, may discharge them out of your companie."

John Duncansone said,—"His counsell, Sir, is verie good. "Indeid," said the King, "his counsell is verie good:"—and with that he start away, according to his maner.

Mr Johne [Davidson] purposed to have named the Lairds of Dun, Lundie, and Braid, Mr Robert Pont, and Mr James Lowsone, if the King had acquiesced in his counsell.

Page 602. MONTGOMERY'S SUBMISSION TO THE ASSEMBLY.

The occasioun of his submissioun to the Assemblie, as I find in Mr James Carmichaell his manuscript, the Assemblie found, that he might be excommunicat, without disobeying the King's charge; wherupon taking acts, they proceeded to deprivatioun of the said Montgomrie frome the ministrie for ever. After this, they going about immediatlie to excommunicat him with commoun consent, some of the brethrein thoght good, he sould be admonished yitt again, he being in the toun, before the fearefull sentence sould be pronounced, notwithstanding his appellatioun frome their judgement before noone; whereunto at length the whole Assemblie agreed. And so, Mr Patrik Galloway, minister of Sanct Johnston, beganne the speeche, and shew him the case he stood in. Mr Johne Davidsone, with two or three other brethrein, movers of this admonitioun, were sent with him. Mr Patrik said, that love had moved them to come to him. This speeche profited little or nothing; wherethrou, being ready to depart *re infecta*, Mr Johne Davidsone spake a little; which so moved Mr Robert, that he said, "I pray you, Brethrein, tell me what ye wold doe, if ye were in the like case that I am in? They answered, "We wold simplie submitt ourselves in the Kirk's will." Which seeming verie hard to him, Mr Johne Davidsone desired him to sitt doun, and call to God with the brethrein present, that he wold put in his heart what to doe; whereunto he with the rest willinglie agreeing, Mr Johne made the prayer with so great abundance of teares, and mervellous vehemencie of pithie words shortlie uttered, that Mr Robert being therewith exceedinglie moved, as appeared, satt a prettie while on his knees, at the place where he kneeled, after the prayer was ended, rebounding, groaning, and sighing mervelouslie; and therafter rose, and wiped his eyes, saying, "Gett me my cloke; I will goe with you to the Assemblie." And coming to the New Colledge closse, (for the Assemblie satt in that Colledge,) he was laith to goe in under simple submissioun. So all left him but Mr John Davidsone, who nather profiting as he wished, left him also, and went in to the Assemblie; where it being demanded

of him, what was done, he said, "Some thing is done; for after incalling of God's name, he was moved to come hither, notwithstanding before he was most unwilling, having his bootes on, readie to depart. So, some hope there is, but not suche, as I can promise anie great thing of it, till I see further." Heerupon reasoning to and fra, it was agreed, that he sould have accesse to come in, if he sought it, and offered himself, otherwise they wold not seeke him.

Mr Patrik Galloway was sent with this conclusioun unto him, who offering himself, after he had heard it, was lett in. And first, with some difficultie, [he] renounced his appellatioun: afterward, he desired the brethrein to beare with his weakenesse, and graunt him some time of conference, with some brethrein of the Assemblie, and he trusted to satisfie them. As for renouncing his letters of charging, he made some difficultie to graunt, except they wold graunt him some conference, and, granting, he wold obey their desire simplie. He being removed, sundrie of the Brethrein thoght good he sould have some conference, and time till Moonday; for this was upon Saturday, at six houres at evin. Mr Robert Pont and Mr Craig speciallie were of this judgement, whereunto Mr Craig gave this reason, saying, *Tutius est peccare in lenitatem, quam in aliam partem.* Others said, he sould not be continued, in respect he had appealed frome the Assemblie. Others aggreaged the same, in that he desired conference whill Mononday, and then minded to side off the toun on Moonday; so that one Patrik Bonkle rose up and said, "It is like we were blind; for may not all men see, how he mockes the Assemblie?" Notwithstanding, it was graunted, that he sould have time till Moonday nixt, providing he tarried upon Soonday, hearing the sermons, and conferring with Mr Robert Pont and Mr Johne Craig in the meane time, as the Assemblie had appointed.

This greeved manie good brethrein in suche sort, that Mr Thomas Smeton said to Mr Patrik Galloway, *pessimam operam navasti hodie*, adding to him and to others, that they knew not

that man, looking therewith alsua to Mr Johne Davidsone, upon whom also Mr Andrew Melvill nodded, as not contented. David Fergusone likewise said to him, "I could find in my heart to be angrie with you, if I durst." The Laird of Pilrig, a good man and zealous, with whome Mr Johne supped that night, said, "I never misliked anie thing that ye had to doe with before." It greeved Mr Johne verie much to see his good brethrein so mislike the mater: howbeit, he had the testimonie of a good conscience, as he said publictlie before the Assemblie, in these words, "I see sundrie of the brethrein offended with that which is done in this mater. Therefore, for my own part, I will protest, that I have done nothing in this case, but in the feare of God, and for the quietness of his Kirk, and salvatioun of yon dead man, if it be possible. And howsoever men judge of it, I am sure God will justifie my part of it at lenth. Ye have heard what I have said of him, now ye have heard your selves. If you see anie signes of repentance, cast him not off. But if your hearts beare you witnesse, that ye see no signes therof, (as for my part I see them not,) heere will I give my vote, that he be excommunicat within a quarter of an houre."

The morne, which was Sunday, Mr Patrik Adamsone, called Bishop of Sanct Andrews, preached before noone upon the thrid of Exodus, in the beginning thereof. He made good generall doctrine, showing among other things, that it behoved the Kirk of Christ to be like to the bush sett on fire. "But woe to him, (said he,) by whom it is sett on fire, and who is the instrument thereof!" Going out at the kirk door, after the sermoun, Mr Robert Montgomrie and Mr Johne Davidsone meete in the throng, evin at the door, to the admiratioun of the said Mr Johne, who wished before that it sould be so. Mr Robert desired him to come to the conference after noone, wherunto he granted. After noone, Mr Andrew Simsone preached. He digressed speciallie upon preachers, that they sould be lights to the rest, at what time he painted out Mr Robert Montgomrie livelie, so that all understood what he meant. At last, he evin named him, de-

siring the congregatioun to pray for him, as he was appointed by the Assemblie.

After sermoun, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Craig, and Mr Robert Montgomrie, together with Mr George Hay and Mr Johne Davidsone, (which two Mr Robert desiring to be present, the other liked weill of it,) conveened in the little school of the New Colledge, where shortlie, after he had desired them ather to propone to him, or he sauld propone to them, place being granted to him, he desired their judgement what he sould doe, after a short harang he had made. Mr Robert Pont said, his judgement was that he sould simplie give over all, and come into the Kirk's will. Mr Craig said likewise. He beganne to purge himself, that he never offended the Kirk; and as concerning that mater, he wold be content to humble himself to the Kirk, so farre as it was ecclesiasticall. They said, that was nothing; for he might be sure the Kirk wold meddle themselves nothing further than became them, &c.; and therefore willed him to make simple submissioun, without restrictioun. Heere Mr Johne Davidsone opponed to his purgatioun, saying, "How say ye that ye have not offended the Kirk in anie thing? Among manie other things, what thinke ye of the violent displacing of the Minister of Glasgow out of the pulpit, and intrusion of your self upon another man's flocke, without his leave?" First, he beganne to excuse himself; but being farther urged by Macfarlan's comming at his desire, and dyning with him therafter, who was his force, &c., he graunted it was a great offense; and this was the first speciall fault that ever he graunted. To be short, after long discoursing on either side, he said, he had made a promise to the King, wherof he wished how to ridde himself; and if he could gett a pensioun of the Bishoprick, he wold never medle more with it. They said, as for his promise, he might breake it, becaus it was evill; and as for a pensioun, they thought, to recompence his charges, the Kirk would not be against it, if he might obtain it without corruptioun of the office.

So, that night, they left till the nixt morning, at what time

the forenamed persouns, with the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, so (corruptlie) called, mett place and time appointed. He tareing long, as the others walked up and doun in the schoole, Mr Craig sayes mirrilie to Mr Patrick Adamsone, "When your doctrine is generall or obscure at anie time, send for Mr Andrew Simsone to be your interpreter:" for Mr Andrew, in his particular applications, alleged oft times the saying before noone, "as it was weill said before noone," quoth he, when in the mean time he never descended in speciall. Mr Patrick leugh it over, as his maner is. Now Montgomrie tareing, the word was, that he had gotten new letters, to charge the Assemblie under paine of treasoun, and to the Toun to assist the King's officiar. But he cumming at last, denied there was anie suche mater. The communing continued a space, and ended with some likelihood of good, thogh verie slender; for he had ever a respect to some worldlie commoditie.

The Assemblie sitting doun, &c. (See page 604, line 16.)

Page 619.—Upon the 10th of May, Seigneur Paull, an Italian, maister stabler to the Duke of Guise, landed at Leith, sent frome the Duke of Guise to the King, with six bairded horse. And yitt, in the mean time was the Duke of Guise practising with some fugitive Englishmen, for the releef of the King's mother out of prison. This Seigneur Paull was a famous murtherer at the massacre of Parise. No fitter man could be sent to make pastime to the King.

Upon Fryday, the elleventh of May, Johne Durie road to Kinneill to the King, airlie in the morning, where was Seigneur Paull, with the rest of his companie, five in traine. Johne Durie said to the King, that the gift was odious, in respect of the person who sent them, a cruell murtherer of the Sancts; and the end whereto, to allure the King to defectioun from Religioun.

Upon Wednisday, the 16th, Johne Durie, after he had preached in Edinburgh, went to Dalkeith, and spake with the King anent the purpose above mentioned, adding, that the King sould beware with whome he matched in marriage. The King answered, he

sould never have a woman but one that feared God, and loved the Evangell.

Upon the 18th of May, a ship arrived out of France with powder and bullet, which was transported to the Castell of Edinburgh. The ministers declaimed against the King, for his great familiaritie with the King of France and Duke of Guise, two bloodie murtherers.

Upon Monday, the 28th, Mr James Lowsone, Johne Durie, and Mr Walter Balcanquall, were called before the counsell in the Abbey, the King and the Duke being absent, Arran present. A great number of the citizens, about 300 or 400 convoyed them, wherupon some evill purpose was stayed, as was supposed.

Page 620.—JOHN DURIE, &c.—Becaus John Durie was not so roughlie handled before the Counsell as some wold, for calling the Duke and Arran abusers of the King, in his sermon upon Wedinsday, the 23d of May, he, Mr James Lawsone, and Mr David Lindsay, were summoned again to compeere to Dalkeith, upon Wedinsday the 30th of May; whether they went, convoyed with some brethrein of the toun, fyftene or sixteene young men. But manie of the godlie wer miscontented that Mr Johne Durie sould goe. He was indeid in great daunger; for the Duke his cookes came out of his kitchin with speates and great knives, to sett upon him. Johne Durie was charged to remove out of Edinburgh during the King's will: Mr Walter his accusation was delayed.

Upon Thursday, the last of May, a charge was sent from the King to the proveist and bailiffes of Edinburgh, under paine of horning, to remove Johne Durie out of the toun. Upon Fryday, the first of June, the Counsell of the town and deacons of crafts convecned in the counsell hous, where it was concluded, by the greatest number, to the great greefe of sindrie, that he sould give place. He obeyed, after he had protested, that there was no just cause offered on his part; for the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, after long reasoning whether it was lawfull to name anie man particularlie in the pulpit or not, upon Tuisday bygane eight dayes, justified all that he said

both in *materia* and *forma*, as Mr Johne Davidsone used the termes. So he departed out of Edinburgh upon Saturday.

Upon the Wedinsday after, Mr Patrik Simsone compaired the ministrie of Edinburgh to a chaine about the neck, wherof ane linke was alreadie brokin, so farre as the enemeis could; meaning the removall of Johne Durie. Mr Johne Davidsone taught on Thursday, Fryday, and Saturday after noone, and moved the auditors mervelouslie. He said, he doubted not but God sould dashe the devill in his own devices; meaning that God wold supplee John Durie his rowme, and make him an instrument to stirre up others, whether so ever he went. He said upon Fryday, teaching upon the secund of Joel, the prophet alluded in that place to the second kinde of blowing the trumpet, of the three kinds specified in the Law; "which we may call," sayes he, "the alarum ringing of the commoun bell." And so, he said, he rang the commoun bell, waken who pleased.

Robert Sempill was takin out of his bed tymouslie in the morning, upon Tuisday, the 5th of June, by William Stewart, Arran's brother, and was sent to Kinneill the nixt morning, because it was alledged he had receaved letters frome the Earle of Angus. John Moresone was sent to Blacknesse.

Upon the 9th of June, a Justice air [was] holdin in Hammilton by the Earle of Arran, where his ladie satt in judgement, using great rigour against the poore for their owne goods: nather just nor unjust escaped. Everie Erle obtained a commissioun for holding of Justice-airs within his owne bounds.

Page 622, after line 12.—The Earle of Argile writteth to Mr James Lowsone and Mr Johne Davidsone, assuring them, that he wold stand to the defense of the truthe now preached in Scotland to the uttermost. Barganie and Blaquhan seing appearance of trouble, assure others of concurrence to the defense of the good caus, howbeit there was variance betwixt them in other things.

The Duke sent the Clerk-register, Alexander Hay, to Mr James Lowsone, upon Tuisday, to desire a conference betwixt suche as

the Kirk and the King sould appoint. It was agreed, that Mr James Lowsone and Mr David Lindsay sould talke with the courteours, but not as Commissioners for the Kirk. But their meeting was to small purpose. The courteours alledged they were ill used by some of the ministrie. They again aggreaged their greeves and complaints, and, namelie, that all their meetings with the court these fifteen years bygane have beene unprofitable.

Upon Wednisday, the 6th of June, the Lord Scroope, wardan, entered in the West borders with 4000 men, burnt sindrie houses, and tooke away with them a bootie. Maxwell, *alias* Morton, entered in England, and did the like. Upon Saturday, the 9th, the English and Scots joyned together, but the English were driven backe.

The King being solicited fifteen times by Mr Craig for the belman of Dalkeith, receaved manie faire promises, and at last, that he sould be delivered before the roade from Dalkeith. But being remembered of his promise at his departure, the King referred him to the Duke. Mr Craig said, he could solicite none but himself, or ellis, he saw he was not King. Yitt within few dayes after, the Lord Seton procured his libertie at the Duke.

Page 631, after line 6.—The same Fryday, the penult of June, Mr James Lowsone in his sermon, regrated verie heavilie Johne Duric's putting of the toun; and the more, that he understood it came by some of their procuring, &c. After sermoun, the Proveist, comming furth of the counsell hous into the little yarde, as Mr James Lowsone goes to his hous, mett with Mr Andrew Melville; who took on so earnestlie with the Proveist, shewing that he with the counsell had done most unworthilie, and that they were unworthie of anie faithfull preacher among them, who had so recompensed that man who had so long travelled so faithfullie amongst them, and therewith threatened them most fearfullie for the same. The Proveist with a grim countenance said, "Mr Andrew, ye know not the mater," with some other disdainefull words, which Mr Johne Davidsone hearing, said to the Proveist,

"What brasen faces are these that ye have, to despise the threatnings of the servants of God, who are sent furth from his throne? I say to you, except ye repent your banishing of Christ, in yon man's persoun, whereof ye have beene instruments, the Lord will pull you out of your thrones with shame and confusioun, that darre be so bold, for the pleasure of anie fleshe, so to intreate the servants of the living God." With this, Mr Andrew not susteaning to bide anie longer, went away. The Proveist was mervellouslie dashed. Henrie Charters said, the mater was not so great as men made it; and if their reasouns were knowne, they were not to be blamed. To whome Mr Johne answered, "Was the charge ye gott, wicked or not?" He said, "I cannot allow it." Then said Mr Johne, "If the command be evill and wicked, what thinke ye of the obedience to it? What case are ye in, that have beene Doegs, and obeyed the same command; and Pilats, absolving and yit condemning? Ye pretend some reasoun for your doings; I thought good, to meete you after this maner, with reasoun. Indeid, I am sorie for you, Henrie," said he, "that it sould have fallin in your hand." Sayes the Proveist, "I have beene as fordward to advance the Evangell, as ever ye have beene." "I am then more sorie for you," said the other, "to see you make so evill a conclusioun: God grant you repentance." And so, Mr Johne departed, leaving Mr Walter with them, who reasouned with them to the same effect, though somewhat more coldlie, saying in speciall, "Had ye beene charged to have givin twentie pound to the King, ye wold have sent, and seene whether if it had beene the King's will or not: meekle more sould ye have showin your diligence in this so weightie a mater."

Mr James and Mr Walter gave in a bill to the Generall Assemblie, desiring to remove themselves as occasioun sould be offered, before they sould be compelled, as their brother was. But this was not graunted, for sindrie inconveniences that might follow. Aluise it was concluded, that no man sould be elected in Johne Durie's place till farther was seene by the Generall Assemblie, as ye may see above.

David Fergusone sent to the Proveist to desire him to send some frome their counsell, to intreate for Johne Durie his returne to his charge, which was granted. These were sent to the King and to the Duke. The mater was remitted to the meeting of the nobilitie at Perth, which was to beginne the Fryday nixt. The Duke wold have seemed to have done something in the mater, if he had knowne their minde sooner. "Aluise," said he, "they sall ather have Johne Durie, or ellis one of the best in Scotland?" "No," said they, "Johne will please the people best;" for there was appearance of tumult at his departing.

Page 635, after line 8. Mr Patrik Adamsone, Bishop of Sanct Andrewes [was] shott at by Patrik Learmonth, one of the Laird of Dairseis sonnes, Proveist of Sanct Andrewes, in the linkes, when he sould have beene preaching.

Page 643, after line 6.—The Commissioners sent from Edinburgh to the King came to him at Perth, the 27th day, where they saw him mirrie, albeit not his owne man; who gave them commaund to keepe their toun, and lett none enter in but suche as they might be masters of, as they would answere to him.

Page 643, after line 15.—Upon Tuisday, the 28th of August, the Proveist of Edinburgh and the Laird of Traquare requeisted the ministers of the Presbyterie of Edinburgh to travell betwixt the Lords at Sanct Johnstoun and the Duke. They answered, when the Commissioners of the Kirk went to the assemblie of the Nobilitie, they sauld speeke as offered in that cace.

This day the Erles of Glencarne, Marr and Gowrie, came to Dupline, and spake with Arran. Arran said to them, "What is this ye have done, my Lords? Ye have interprised one of the greatest interprises, and most treasonable, that hath beene these manie yeeres in this land. Nather are ye able to beare it out, for the Duke hath the King's heart. Yitt if ye will suffer me to be free under your guarde, without anie of my owne with me, I

will tak in hand to make the King yours within few dayes." They went from him, and said, they would advise.

Page 641, line 7. So upon Friday at 9 hours at even, he (the Duke of Lennox) came to Edinburgh accompanied, &c.—He lodged that night in William Fowlar's lodging. One of his servants having two cups, a bason, and a silver lavacre on his back, was spoiled the night following. The nixt night the whole plenishing and tapestrie, or what other things worthie to be carried, were transported from Dalkeith in carts to Edinburgh.

The day after he came to Edinburgh, the Counsel of the Town being convened, at the Duke's requeist, with the Clerk of Register, Tullybarden Comptroller, Mr David Makgill Advocat: The Duke *purged himself*, &c. [See line 17.]

Page 645, line 33, read [George] Brown of Colstoun.

The Lord Seton came to Edinburgh, with 24 armed men. Cesford and Coldingknowes likewise, with a respectable companie.

The Abbot of Lindores came from the King, and shew to the Duke and the Provost, be word, that they suld judge the King holden captive and detained against his will, if he came not to Edinburgh that night, or the morne.

Page 646. JOHN DURIE'S LICENCE TO RETURNE TO EDINBURGH.

Upon the Lord's day, the 2d of September, John Adamsone and his associates returne from the King weel contented. This day John Durie preached in Stirline before the King, was weel accepted, and his licence to returne was obteaned; the tenor whereof followeth:—

"REX.—JOHN DURIE, Minister of the gospel at Edinburgh, we greet you weel. It is our will, and we command you, that incontinent after the sight hereof, yee address you to our said burgh of Edinburgh, and there attend upon your flock according to your function and calling, as ye will answer to God, upon the

duty of your office. Subscrived with our hand at Stirline, the first day of September [1582.]"—This licence was subscrived be the King, Glencarne, and Dunfermline.

John Durie cometh to Leith at night the 3d of September. Upon Tuesday the 4th of September, as he is coming to Edinburgh, there met him at the Gallowgreen 200, but ere he came to the Netherbow their number increased to 400; but they were no sooner entered but they encreased to 600 or 700, and within short space the whole street was replenished even to Saint Geiles Kirk: the number was esteemed to 2000. At the Netherbow they took up the 124 Psalme, "*Now Israel may say*," &c., and sung in such a pleasant tune in four parts, known to the most part of the people, that coming up the street all bareheaded till they entered in the Kirk, with such a great sound and majestie, that it moved both themselves and all the huge multitude of the beholders, looking out at the shots and over stairs, with admiration and astonishment: the Duke himself beheld, and reave his beard for anger: he was more affrayed of this sight than anie thing that ever he had seene before in Scotland. When they came to the kirk, Mr James Lowsone made a short exhortation in the Reader's place, to move the multitude to thankfulnes. Thereafter a psalm being sung, they departed with great joy.

Page 648, after line 3.—The same 4th of September, the Erle of Gowrie writteth to John Durie the letter following:—

"To my right trust Freind and Brother, John Durie, minister of God's Word at Edinburgh.

"BROTHER: After my heartie commendations: this is to advertise you, that the Lord Hereis is returned to the Duke with our answere, which is, if he will instantlie deliver the Castell of Dumbartan, and therafter depart out of this countrie betwixt this and the 20th of this instant, and in the meane time to remaine ather at Dalkeith or Aberdour, accompaneid with 40 persouns or within, we will cease from all hostilitie against him; otherwise, if he agrees not to thir conditioums, no assurance.

And hereof the Lord Hereis will returne with answer upon Thursday nixt, and as it sall be, ye sall be advertised. Praying you affectuouslie, in the meane time, to be making all the freinds ye can, and provide, that in case we have the occasioun to hold fordward to the toun, that the ports may be made patent to us, whether we come by night or day. I pray you make my heartie commendations to Mr James and Mr Walter. So I committ you to God. Off Stirline, this 4th of September, 1582. Your right assured freind, GOWRIE."

Page 673, after line 8.—Upon Saturday, the 15th of September, Mr James Lowsone and Mr Johne Davidsone compeared before the counsell at Stirline, being sent for; where were present the Erles of Glencarne and Gowrie, Lords Boyd, Lindsay, Master of Glames; Abbots of Dumfermline, Cambuskenneth, Inchaffrey, the Proveist of Dundie, &c. Mr James willed them to declare the causes of their interprises. Mr Johne made a little harang concerning the reformation of the Lords themselves, and their owne persons, houses, and bounds; of banning, swearing, filthie talke, whoordome, and oppressioun; and speciallie, that they wold obey the word of God, which hitherto they had not done, in denuding their hands of the teinds, and applying them to the right use, how soone peace and quietnesse would suffer; and then God would blesse them, otherwise not; howbeit the Lord would not leave the cause unperfyted. The Erle of Gowrie prayed God they might be obedient to God's word, &c. They were desired to collect what wrongs Aubigney and Arran had done to the Kirk, and they sould doe the like for civill things.

Page 673, at the bottom.—Upon Tuesday, the 18th, Mr James [Lawsone], Mr Johne [Davidson], Mr Andrew [Hay], and Mr Thomas [Smeaton] compeered before the Counsell, and proponed sundrie enormities in the Kirk to be reformed, and, in speciall, that everie kirk may have their own minister. They promised to take order how soone time might serve. The foure ministers conferr-

ed with three Lords upon the causes of the interprise, which were to be published. A Band [was] appointed to be subscribed by the Lords, and therafter by the Presbyteries. It was feared that the King's going abroad would prove dangerous, in regarde some brutes were spread, that before three sunnes sett, there would be a change in court. The King was requested to stay within for eight days; but he went furth three or foure miles, and would not returne before seven at night.

Page 674, after line 5.—Upon Thursday, the 20th, great consultatioun for the Magistrates of the Touns to be changed at Michaelmas, speciallie the magistrates of Edinburgh and Glasgow; and, in speciall, anent Edinburgh, whether a citizen sould be proveist of Edinburgh.

Upon Friday, the 21st, Drumquhassil sent with a bill of credite from the King and Counsell to Argile, subscribed by the King, Glencarne, Marr, Gowrie, Lindsay, and Boyd.

Upon Saturday, the 22d of September, the Duke convoyed himself privilie out of Dumbartone in a little boate, leaving his two ships remaining still. The brute went that he was gone to France; but he went onlie to the Ile of Bute, and remained there a long sesoun, seiking occasion ather to show himself in the feilds or waiting when the King sould escape out of their hands.

Thereupon the Lords sett out a Declaratioun of their motives that moved them to putt the Duke and Arran frome the King, which was committed to print; which the reader may find insert heere above. [See vol. iii. pp. 651-665.]

Page 674, line 28. *Mr George Buchanan ended his dayes the 68th* [76th] *year of his age.* [Buchanan was born in 1506, and died in September 1582.]

Page 696, after line 33. Upon Tuesday, the 8th of Januar [1583], Colonell Stewart came to the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, proponing in the King's name and desiring that silence might be keeped

of the Frenche King and his Ambassader by the Preachers, untill his commissioun sould be declared. Some of the brethrein thought this weill strange, that the King sould suspect their discretioun, seing that it needed not, if hitherto they had not offended in suche things, and if they had, they wold wishe to be advertised of it. Alwise, answere was differed till after noone, in respect of reasoning that fell, in tuiching the receaving of anie Ambassador at all from an idolater. Yitt after noone they left that questioun, thinking it lawfull tuiching politicke effaires, concerning commoun peace and quietnesse, if no farther dealing were. So after some reasoning, it was thought and concluded by the whole, (except Mr David Lindsay, who, after reasoning in the contrare, affirmed plainlie, he was not of that minde,) that the Ministers ought and sould warne their flockes of all appearing dangers. That was granted. But the assumption being provin, by the sender, the person sent, the time of his sending, and occasion thereof, that of this Ambassader appeased danger, was long resisted by Mr David, and skarse graunted in the end; whereof it was concluded that it was lawfull, and their dueties craved to warne their people of the same. The nixt questioun was of the time, which was concluded to be free to the preacher. Mr David was utterlie against that. In the end, Johne Brand and Mr Johne Davidsone were chosen to give the King their answere, and to admonishe him to be ware with that Ambassader. They going, went first to Captan Stewart, according to the counsell of the brethrein. He said the King, he was assured, wold mislyke altogether of that answere; and his minde was, the King had wrong to have that denied unto him. They answered, they wold wishe that the King were otherwise informed, seing he was deare unto them, and yitt, the truthe was more deare, which they thought the King would praise in them, rather than dispraise, &c. Alwise, he liked nothing of the answere, wherof Johne Brand tooke occasioun not to goe to the King; howbeit Mr Johne would have gone, if he would goe, otherwise, he could not goe alone. Yitt Colonell Stewart revealing it to the King after their

departing, and that Johne Durie would preache the morne after, the King sent him up to Mr James, willing him to take the place. Mr James, Johne Durie, and Mr Johne Davidsone being present, answered, that they sould call upon God's name, not doubting but God sould worke it, notwithstanding Johne Durie had said, it behoved him to speake, if he came there. He wished another sould occupie his place. But this being at after six hours at even, the time was so short, none would accept it. Yit Johne Johnstone and Johne Durie earnestlie requeisting Mr Johne Davidsone, he graunted to doe as God would assist him, providing the Kirk and the other ministers would consent. But after supper conferring together, it was thought meete that none sould occupie the place but Johne [Durie] himself, for sindrie causes, and they in the meanetime to pray to God for his assistance; which done, they departed, Johne being resolved to teache. Indeed, Mr Bowes had moved Mr Johne Davidsone muche, to advise the brethrein, that it were best to speake little or nothing of the Ambassader, till his message were knowne, which would be shortlie, in respect the Frenche Ambassader would rejoice to have occasioun at his entrie, to have the King anie thing offended with the ministers; and with this he willed, that the most grave of the ministers sould come to the Counsell, and then to the King, on the morrow nixt, and declare their conscience out of the word for their instructioun, in having to doe with that Ambassader.

Upon Wednsday the 9th, Johne Durie, preaching not without commendatioun, spake nothing of that mater till the end, and then spake so discreetlie, by God's mightie assistance, besides both his owne and others expectatioun, that none could be offended justlie therewith: for he willed his flocke to beware with him, and yitt, to denie him no kind of humanitie, &c. The King notwithstanding was skarse content that he spake anie thing at all, yitt made not muche adoe for it. Mr Craig the same day, spake more before the King; and Mr James, upon Fryday nixt, in his prayer.

This day, the Frenche Ambassader gott presence of the King

in his utter chamber, apparrelled for that purpose, Robert Melvill conveying him: He had but foure or five in companie with him. Mr Bowes was present, and Mr Davidsone. Mr Davidsone heard all that they spake, being desired by the King, at the Queen's requeist, as also by the Frenche Ambassader himself. He delivered to the King foure letters; one from the King of France, another from the Queene Mother, a third from the [Duke de] Guise, the fourth from the Duke de Maine. After he had shewed his commissioun, he compleaned, that he was stayed at Berwick till he had obteaned the King's licence, as a thing not wont nor convenient. Mr Davidsone replyed, that that was no fault, seing the same was done to Sir George Carie, Ambassader of England, shortlie before. The other said, there was not the like reasoun, in respect the band of France was elder, and more ancient, Mr Davidsone replyed, the band with England was more neare and profitable, &c. He compleaned likewise, that he had so strait convoy out of England, because his errand was suspected. The King answered, that the Queene did it for the care she had over him, that nothing hurtfull to him sould be practised; and that she might be privie to his proceedings, as one that tendered his weale. Mr Davidsone, after he had made a large discourse of the dangerous course the Duke and Arran were in, that the King would caus tric the last conspiracie, otherwise he sould be subject to greater danger heerafter; and this he had to speake from his Mastresse, who had beene better acquainted with government than he, and so, knew better what might hurt the same, &c. The King so delited in his harang, that he said, he could be content to heare him further tuiching these things.

Upon Fryday, the elleventh of Januar, the Frenche Ambassader sent for Mr Davidsone to invite him; who did so, at what time Mr Davidsone saluted the ministers of Edinburgh, to all their comfort.

Upon Saturday, the 12th of Januarie, the Frenche and English Ambassaders dyned with the Erle Bothwell. The counsell convened betimes. Mr Bowes and Mr Davidsone went unto them.

The Frenche Ambassader was sent for: Colonell Stewart and Robert Melvill came for him. The Ambassaders being sett over against other, neare to the King, the Frenche Ambassader made a long and sharpe discourse tuiching the gathering of forces about the King, &c., which the King gathered to two heids, offering of kindnesse and advice. He thanked him for his offer; as for his advice, he would consult upon it. Mr Davidsone protested, that nothing be done without advice and knowledge of her Majestie. It was appointed, that Dumfermline, Dryburgh, and some others, sould conferre on the Lord's day with the Frenche Ambassader, and crave his demand in writt; which they did, and had his demands somewhat more favourable in writt, nor they were uttered; which ye have heere sett doun above.

Upon Moonday, the 14th of Januar, the Frenche Ambassader sent for Colonell Stewart, and Robert Melvill came for him. The proveist, Alexander Clerk, and sindrie other of the toun, drawin thereto by a draught, conveyed him. Aubigney gott presence of the Queene of England. She rattled him up, Mr Johne Colvill being present.

Page 697, after line 13.—Upon Fryday the 18th, Mr Lowsone inveyed mightilie against the King of France, calling him murtherer, tiger, &c. Mr Thomas Smeton spake with the Frenche Ambassader, who was highlie offended with Mr James. Mr Thomas proved, that the King of France could not be cleansed of that massacre, &c. Other brethrein misliked his going to him, howbeit he was desired by the Abbot of Dumfermline, frome the King.

Upon the Lord's day, the 20th, the Lord Hereis departed this life suddanlie, in time of the after noone's preaching, going to an upper chamber in William Fowllar's lodging, time of the preaching, to see the boyes bicker. He said before dinner, he durst not trust himself to go to the afternoon's preaching, becaus he found himself weake. Leaning to a wall, he fell down by little and little, saying to the woman that followed, "Hold me, for I am not weale."

Page 697.—Upon Tuesday the 22d, certaine Brethrein of the Presbyterie appointed to goe to the King, to admonishe him to be war with the French Ambassaders' faire speaking, in respect of the great proofe of the French King's falshood from time to time, and now of late. After noone, the Laird of Braid, Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Lowsone, Mr David Lindsay, Mr Johne Davidsone, spake the King in the cabinet, to this effect. Mr David Lindsay, speaker. There were present, the Lord Gowrie, who was come immediatelie before to court: Dumfermline, Justice-clerk, Colonell Stewart, afterward Blantyre, and thereafter Angus and Marr.

The King thanked them for their admonitioun, and said he would they had spokin it sooner, (meaning to himself and not openlie.) The King answered, that he would use commoun courtesie unto them, but no familiaritie. After it was replyed, that no familiaritie would follow that kinde of courtesie, except it was wiselie looked on. He said, there was difference betweene familiaritie in commoun societie, and betweene familiaritie, whereby one leaned upon another. This was the argument and summe whereunto he drave all the bodie of his answere. Manie speeches fell out by the way, but Mr James added farther to the things spokin, that these Ambassadors were shortlie to be dispatched, or ellis, they would doe hurt. The King said, some time was requisite for their answer. Mr James passed fordar, saying, the last Ambassader had brought a masse priest with him, which would breid such a tumult, if order were not quicklie taken, as would not easilie be rid. The King said, order was alreadie devised for that, to witt, that ather he sould depart again, or ellis keep him quiett, till the Ambassaders might be quicklie despatched. It was answered, that they might have privie masses in the mean time. Some said that was not offensive, others affirming it was. My Lord of Gowrie said, "Looke what laws of the realme ye may have against suche dealing, and practise them." Mr David Lindsay shew, that La Mott was one of the principall instruments of the working of the Duke of Norfolk's marriage with the King's

Mother, wherethrough rose all that seditioun in England, and had alwayes been an evill instrument. Little answere was made to that.

The King wished that the Ministers, and speciallie they present, would speake advisedlie of these things, seing he could not refuse to receave Ambassadors from all natiouns, yea, from the Turk; and that he looked to have from Spain, and other places, shortlie: "yea, in a maner, if the Pope sent, I could not denie civill courtesie." So he insisted much upon that. Mr James said, it might be reasoned in the contrairie. "May it so?" sayes the King. "Yes, that it may," sayes Mr James. "I would wishe," said the King, "ye all took good heed in that case, and advised with me before ye spake, and had my consent to it." Mr James said, they could not confer with him upon everie particular, before they went to pulpit. The King said, it was no particular. Mr James said, they might call a murtherer, a murtherer. The King said, in generall they might condemne murther and massacres, but to blame persons in speciall, not so. Mr James said they might and sould. Mr Robert Pont said, Preachers spake no more now than they had done before in that behalfe. The King said, they had never spokin so much before, and brought in Johne Brand for example, the last Soonday, howbeit it appeared he meant more of Mr James. Wherefore Mr James said, it was their duetie to speake, and for his owne part he keeped over long silence, which he would not doe heereafter; so that the King and he crossed other all the time. The King said, we would not be content, that they spake so of us in France. Mr Robert Pont said, "Their friers speake worse of us, and of his Grace himself in France." Said the King, "Sould ye doe as they doe? They made a massacre, sould ye doe the like?" "We may speake the truthe better than they may doe lees," said Mr James, "and the chronicles will speake, though we sould keepe silence." The King said, "Ye write not historeis when ye preache." Mr Johne Davidsone rounded to Mr James, (for he had not commissioun to speake to the King in that mater:) "The preachers have more

authoritie to speake the truthe in preaching than anie historiographer in historie." The King shew, what he had answered La Mott, tuiching that heed of speeking of his master; but the tale told not weill with him. Mr Robert Pont said, "Weel, sir, our errand is onlie to advertise you, and putt you in minde of that which the Latine proverbe says, "*tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*" The King said, it was not so easie for them to destroy religioun in Scotland as in these countreis. The Abbot of Dumfermline used some speeches, but they were so indifferent that they were not of so great weight; howbeit he intended most to confirme the ministers' speeches; and once he said, "I doubt not but the King will use himself so, that whatsoever Ambassader come to him, he sall lett them understand how vertuous educatioun he hath, and how different frome their religioun." The King said, they would not meddle with religioun; and if they did, they would soone be answered. Mr David Lindsay said, their maner was not to meddle at the first with religioun, as the experience of the practising with the Low Countries witnesseth. Onlie politick and civill maters were pretended at the first; and yitt, religioun was their butt, and therefore, their worldie pretenses would be wiselie handled, and short dispatche made. "For," sayes he, "they may deale now tuiching the increasing of variance among your nobilitie, and likewise, in moving mislyking betwixt you and them with whom ye sould not cast out, as heere with England; and whereto tendeth all this, but to the destruction of religioun?" The Abbot of Dumfermline said, "Sir, this is it that Mr David meaneth: they may seeke the overthrow of religioun indirectlie, though not directlie." Gowrie affirmed the same, and so, thought best, that so haistie riddance of the Frenche Ambassaders as could be, was best. So they tooke their leave.

After their going, Mr Johne Davidsone staying, went to the King, and spake in his eare, after he had said that he had something to speake in the King's eare: and said, "Sir, I thought good to advertise your Grace, privilie in your eare, and not before the rest, that ye swore and tooke God's name too often in vaine in

your Grace's speeches heere." "I thanke you," said the King, with a little laughter. "I pray your Grace pardoun me," said the other, "that I have beene so bold;" and departing, the King followed him to the doore, and taking him by the shoulder, said verie lovinglie, "I thanke you, that ye advertised me so quietlie." The other said, "I thanke your Grace."

The King said, "We must suspect the best of all men ye know by the scriptures." Mr James said, "We ought not to thinke weill of them that doe evill so malitiouslie." When they were speaking, he said, "they had spokin more since Monsieur La Mott's comming than before." Mr James said, "It is reported wrong." Then the King said, "I heard Johne Brand." Mr James said, "As for my part, I will answere, lett see who darre accuse me." Colonell Stewart was stirred with this, and said, "Sir, forsooth, manie thingis are wrong reported; for I have heard them oft, and I never heard them speeke in speciall, but of murtherers in generall." "Na," said Mr James, "we have even spokin in speciall." So he held his peace, and gave ather credite or nane.

So they fell in speaking of King Charles. The King said, he had no wite of the massacre, but the Queene Mother, and this King, &c. Mr James said, they had murthered by their command the sonnes of God. The Abbot of Dumfermline told, how Mr Thomas Smeton had convicted La Mott in that behalfe, howbeit he stiflie repyned long. The King began mirrilie to call Queene Mother, his oldest sister; alluding, I thinke, to her stile, in her letters to him. The Justice-clerk said, she loved no fleshe that grew upon one of his Mother's bairns. The King said, she never loved his Mother when she was in France. The rest confirmed the same. The King said, when one said, "The Frenche Ambassaders are doubled;" he said, "No, for they have but one commissioun, the one by land, who was holdin a while in England, and the other by sea; for France thought good," said he, "to have that sey of the favour of England, to lett him goe through." As tuiching his shipping of late, Colonell Stewart said,

the English Ambassader told the King the same day eight dayes of his comming. They were sixteene horse in tryne.

Page 698, after line 26.—Upon the 25th of Januar, Mr James Lowsone, after he had ended Malachie, choosed a text in the 29th Isay, tuiching the Ambassaders of Babel, where he most notablie painted out the Frenche ambassage. The Proveist of Edinburgh willed the Captan of the Castell to tell the King that he had changed his text; but he refused. It was thought he told it himself, whereupon the King proponed it to the Counsell. But the Abbot of Dumfermline answered, that he did it not of purpose but according to the custome, ending a booke, he choosed anie text he thought made convenient, till he sould enter to some new booke.

Page 700, line 6, &c.—Upon Fryday, the 8th of Februar, the Lords reformers mett in the Abbey, and determined to be reconciled with suche lords as were tractable, namelie, Huntlie and Argile; and to travell with the King, that the Ladie Arran might be removed out of the toun. Mr Johne Davidsone was appointed to bring the band to the Erle of Marr and Master of Glames, becaus they had a purpose to try if Huntlie would subscribe.

Upon Saturday, the 9th of Februar, the Lords reformers for the most part conveened in the little hous, in the Upper Tolbuith. Mr Johne Davidsone was present with the band. It was offerred to the Erle of Arroll, who drifted to subscribe, in respect the Lords had not keeped promise to him in assisting him, as he alledged. They promised to assist him. He said, he would see proofe. Eglinton refused, for some hard clauses in the end. The Lords there subscribed a letter to the Erle of Glencarne, and another to Argile, wherein they were desired to meete them at Stirline. Mr Johne Davidsone made a motion of the Ladie Arran's removing out of the toun. Gowrie said, she had desired to speake with him: He sould speake with her after noone, and desire her to depart: If she obeyed, it was sufficient; if not, they sould tell the King. He spoke with her after noone, but she

refused to depart. When it was told the King, he said, he could not forbidd her, so long as she came not to his presence. So she stayed, and traffiqued with the Frenche Ambassader and others, as she pleased. When it was said, that Colonell Stewart had spokin with her at midnight, it was answered, he was ill used, for he had done it with their knowledge. He was appointed to goe to England. It was said, the King was angrie with Angus, for not going to the banket, and with the ministers, speciallie, Mr James Lowsone, for speaking against it. Three or foure dayes he accepted not of Mr James to communicatioun, howbeit he was sent for. But upon Monday the eleventh, he seemed to accept weele of Mr James and Johne Durie, and among other things said, "That suche as said that he was deteaned captive, spake falslie."

At this convention, the Nobilitie came in at the King's command, but not at once. As one came for favour of the Duke, another departed. Yitt they all subscribed at the King's command, a generall abstinence during his will, to the end, he might make friendship among them, James Erle of Arran excepted, who was discharged to come neere court by twelve myles, during the King and Counsell's will. The Laird of Tullibardin, Comptroller, gave over his office, which was given to Johne Fenton, then Clerk to the said office.

Page 714.—Occurrences from London the 10th of May. —Our Ambassadour came to Londoun on Fryday, the 3d of May. Roger Eistoun [Ashton] was directed before, to advertise the Counsell, and to appoint their lodging at the ensigne of the Twelve Apostles. The nixt Moonday, the 6th of May, they were convoyed to the Court by Sir Thomas Letoun [Leighton], and diverse of the pensioners, with two burgesses sent for the same effect. At the great chamber doore, the Lord Thesaurar and diverse gentlemen courteours receaved them. After a little staying in the chamber of presence, they were brought in to the privie chamber, where they gott presence of the Queen's Majestie, of

whom they had a verie cheerefull countenance. They continued that time three long houres, and after, tooke their leave. There was appointed to meete them the nixt day at seven houres, the Lord Hunsdane [Hunsdon] and Mr Secretare Walsinghame, to reasoun upon the Articles.

Upon Wedinsday the 8th of May following, the Colonell had secreet conference with her Majestie three long houres, at which time he delivered her Majestie the King's tokin, the which was not a little welcome; and he returned that time weill satisfied. They are in good hope that all things sall be weill, in respect of the glade interteanement they receave of the Queen's Majestie's Counsell and nobilitie, whome they found verie weill willing; as speciallie, my Lord Leicester, who is both freindlie and plaine in their caus, and also, the Lords Bedfoord and Hunsdane, who shewes them verie great courtesie, and likes weill of their travells. But above all, they repose altogether upon Mr Secretare Walsinghame. The lord vice-chamberlane of like minde, showes them verie great favours; and Mr Raufe Bowes, for his freindlie dealing, is greatlie praised in his ranke by them. So manie of the nobilitie as are spokin with, shew them verie willing. The Lord Thesaurar being under recent displeasure, through the late death of the Erle of Oxfoord's sonne, could not before the dispatching of their letters be spokin with.

The 9th of May, being Thursday, Mr David Lindsay and Mr George Young was directed with the articles to court. The Lord Leicester made the banket to the Ambassaders upon Fryday, the 10th of May, and my Lord Secretar sent them word, they sould be dispatched the nixt weeke, for the Queen's Majestie removed shortlie to Non-suche. All the articles the Queen's Majestie hath referred to the Counsell except one, which is the advice of mariage, which she hath reserved to her selfe to answere to. Commissioners will be appointed for ratificatioun of the band, and for intreating of the league defensive. Order will be tane for the pyrats. Mr Archibald Douglas will be sent home upon some conditions. They will receave some money. Mr Walsinghame

writes to Mr Bowes, to deliver a month's pay to the King's Majestie's guard on foote and horse. Our Ambassaders are in good hope, that they sall be weill satisfeid in all things they require. The onlie difficultie will be, concerning the lands, the which they seeke, which apperteaned to the Ladie Margaret [Douglas], or the Erle of Lennox.

There is a great duke of Pole, called Alesco, latelie come to the court, to see her Majestie, who hath alreadie at two sindrie times spokin her, and hath been verie honourablie interteaned. Also a Scotishman of Dumbartone, called Smallat, is come heere frome the Duke of Lennox out of France, the 10th of May. The purpose then was unknowne. But his master and he being weill, both understand by some experience, and better informatioun, the Queen's Majestie and Counsell. Your Lordships may conjecture what his answere will be. He that knows best his purpose heere, sayes, that when the Duke hath seyed the nobilitie of Scotland for his returning with small profite and no resolute answere, now he turns him to insinuat himself in the favours of England, under the colour of faire promises, looking to make that true, which the Laird of Kilsyth more freelie nor eneugh, reported of the Queen's minde in that mater to the King's Majestie.

Sir Robert Stepiltoun tholled law on Wedinsday, the 9th of this instant, for that which he did against the Bishop of Yorke. He is adjudged for punishement, to pay to the Queene three thowsand pund Sterline, and to stand to her mercie, whether she will degrade him of his knighthood or not. Also, to pay to the Bishop the money he gott frome him, and to be in the Bishop's will, what other punishment he will appoint him.

The King's Grace hath takin his progresse this Moonday, after supper, accompanied with the Erles of Angus, Bothwell, Argile, Montrose, and Eglintoun, with Marr and Gowrie, toward Linlithquo. Dunfermline is gone over the water, to make preparatioun for the King's comming. Mr Bowes is rydden a-gate ward in this convoy, being purposed freelie to disclose his minde to his Majestie, what are the commoditeis and pleasures his Grace may

have, in following out the course begunne in the companie of the present counsellers, and what perrells and inconveniences he sall be able to wrappe himself in, in case he sall alter purpose; wherin he will require the King's Majestie's speciall answere and assurance, to report to his Mastresse, in his name; and his purpose is to turne backe that same night. Farder, this progresse is rather tolerate nor weill liked of by manie, becaus without extraordinarie comptrolling [it] could not weill be stayed. Albeit it be not limited, as I understand, yitt I trust it sall be within the bounds your Lordship would wish. And suche provisioun is made through his Grace's convoy by the Erles above named, as it is necessar earnestlie craved and wished of all men, which they looke your Lordship will not refuse, without speciall impediment of inhabilitie; in which case, that paper and inke be not spaired. The Erle of Arran, as I heard bruted, was to be charged to retire himself frome Kinneill, out of the King's Grace's way. And it is true, he was seene upon Sunday, nine or ten miles be-west on gate-ward to Cliddisdaill, perchance willing rather to preveene the charge by benevolence, upon some secreet knowledge of the King's will, becaus his domestick servant * * bydes still at court, to the mislyking of manie.

The mater wherof I wrote to your Lordship before, concerning the right Erle of Arran, was so hardlie liked of and tane with, that it was buried for a seasoun, whill furder opportunitie, but yitt not forgott.

OCCURRENCES FROM FRANCE, the 24th of June 1583.

I perceave how Entracques, and his brother Doune, alias Dentrages, are hotelie bent to follow that sute unto her Majestie and to the Scotish King, for to get their nephew the Duke of Lennox sonne, to repair into Scotland, for to injoy the Dutchie of Lennox, with his father's other livings; which if they cannot atteane with her Majestie's favour, having despatched Smallat presentlie to be their meanes both to the Queen's Majestie, as also to the Scotish King, and have now requested me to write in that

behalfe: I heare tell, failing of their purpose by this mediatioun, they give furth, that they, with their freinds, forces, and meanes, will attempt to transport their nephew by force; in which hote Frenche humor they are occupied for the present, sending sindrie into Scotland. These of the Papist's sect doe move themselves towards * * practises, and meet oft in their consultations. They make accompt the Erle of Argile sould not long remaine alive, being extenuated with sicknesse, whereby through contentioun like to happin betweene the tutors of the said Erle's childrein, they suppose his forces will be divided and scattered. Smallat being [so] favoured by her Majestie as [to] injoy the lands which Aubigney gave him, will, as it seemed, be contented to runne the course her Majestie thinkes convenient; for it appeared unto me, that amongs the countrie men, *et cum fortuna statque caditque fides*. Smallat desired he may be accompaneid by one directed frome her Hienesse, whereby he might be admitted to the Scotish King's presence, with the letters he careid writtin as from d'Aubigney, wishing that he could be with the King, before Henrie Nisbit or anie other whom they have send hence by sea, or comming through England, sould arrive in Scotland. I have sent Tuipper for to passe in his companie, to observe what they said; and the companie that goeth with Smallat, having gottin Smallat a pasport for himself, to repaire to her Majestie's presence with a letter to Adams, upon his humorous importunitie, for that he will in anie wise be brought unto her Majestie's presence in that sort, giving me to understand her pleasure sould be suche; perceaving he hath a strange imaginatioun of his owne abilitie to deale in these effaires.

My Lord,—After my most heartilie commendations: This present is to advertise your Lordship of the Duke of Lennox, as before God. He departed the [26th] day of this moneth [May], which was upon Sonday, at foure houres in the after noone; who departed verie godlie, as I can testifie. There cam a preist unto him, in the meane time that Monsieur de Entraques was reading to his Lordship upon a godlie Frenche booke, the which I have.

As soone as he perceaved the preist with his whyte skirt, his Lordship incontinent turned his face and bodie to the other side; and I assure your Lordship, that De Entraques, and Monsieur Doune his brother, were not contented to see the preest there, becaus they thought it not best to preasse him of his religioun, being at so weake a point, and also, becaus they knew him to be affectionat; and they themselves found the meane, to caus to remoove the preist, albeit they themselves be Papists. He desired to burie himself in Aubigney. He was opened, and his sicknesse seene, which resolved them of the brute, that he was poysoned in England. I assure your Lordship, they are satisfeid at the sight of some able mediciners, two chirurgians, and myself, with sindrie gentlemen, that there is no like thing, so that immediatlie he was bowelled, the same night, his heart takin out, the bodie putt in a leadin kist, and after in a coache, and on the morne conveyed away secreetlie, with one man onlie. As to his heart, it is keeped, to send away to the King, not suddanlie, for his death will make the King's Grace melancholick. So, for feare that his Grace forgett his barnes, and to keep the King in recent memorie of affectioun toward him, they minde to send his heart to the King, with his eldest sonne, which was his owne minde, and that, to enter to that thing which he himself had before. And this to be done shortlie, so that, by that and other meanes, they intend to prevent the Parliament. That same Soonday, at seven of the clocke, he caused to write a writting to the King's Grace, shewing his Grace the estate he was at, desiring him to be good to his barnes, and to tak upon his Grace the defense of them; giving his Grace counsell expresslie, to putt away the Dwglasses, and to trust no more in Arran, Dumfermline, Marr, Lindsay, Gowrie, and * * who runne the English factioun, but to leane to others of whom he had prooffe now of late, that was the Duke's owne factioun, and the Queen's our mastresse affectionatlie, to whom he hath left a blanke, to be filled up with their names; and to recommend to the King's Grace, and his Grace to tak upon him the defense of them. Another part of his

writting, to interteane * * and to caus him to performe the mariage betweene him and his daughter. What other thing sall fall out, and as time serves, I sall imploy myself to mak your Lordships foreseene, God willing. I have writtin sindrie times with expeditioun. I know not, if your Lordship hath receaved them, and I hope, with God's grace, to mak your Lordship more at lenth participant of the preceding.

Your Lordship may understand, that there is past hence the Lord of Forbesse; and that there is heere to passe home, the Laird of Fentrie, the Master of Gray, and certain other gentlemen, all papists; with Mr James Tyrie, Jesuit, Hammiltoun, and other Papists, to resort at home, with certane bookes dedicat to the King's Majestie, thinking to remaine as Scotish-men in the countrie, and to be mainteaned in the north by Huntlie, Atholl, Argile, Crawfurd, Ogilwie, and Gray, without hurt of their bodie. And if the King sall call for them, they will send to his Grace, to be mediator betweene them and the ministers, to bring them to that place where they dispute before his Grace, offering themselves to dee, if they confound not the ministers, with their errors and erroneous doctrine. This, I assure your Lordship, is the onlie meanes to seditioun, and to withdraw the people to mak a revolt. Wherefore I pray your Lordship, mak it forseene, and prepare remedie.

D'Aubigney, a day or two before his decease, made his last will, appointing for tutors to his children, as they informe me, the Erle of Huntlie, Argile, Montrose, Glencarne, Eglinton, and Mortoun; and hath requeisted them, that the contract of mariage made between the Erle of Morton's sonne and his daughter, may proceed and take effect; having fained sindrie blanks, which are to be writtin and filled up heere, by these who follow the practise which he begunne in Scotland. There is a letter directed from him unto the Scotish King, recommending the estate of his barnes, with others of his friends and servants, bequeathing his heart to the Scotish King, which is embalmed, to be sent. These of the Scotish factioun have dispatched

Henrie Nisbitt, merchant of Edinburgh, with letters and advertisement concerning D'Aubigney's death; and now, Smallat is directed by them to passe with D'Aubigney's blanks framed into letters, direct to the Scotish King, and diverse others in Scotland. It seemeth, they have linked Smallat unto D'Aubigney's eldest sonne, through their perswasions, becaus he knowes, the land which D'Aubigney had given to him, is a peece of the earldome of Lennox, the which erledome, if D'Aubigney's sonne injoy not, Smallat doubteth to be frustrat of the said lands. D'Aubigney's sonne is but a childe of the age of eight or nine yeares, of whom the Scotish King, in long time, can not receave anie confort. These heere of the Scotish Queen's factioun, have perswaded Smallat to thinke now, how the King of Scotland will now tak occasioun, to grow in deepe discontentatioun with her Majestie, in respect that at her instance, the Scotish King did licence D'Aubigney to depart off Scotland, whereby, his sickness and death insued. They have writtin, as I heare, in one of D'Aubigney's blanks, directed to the Scotish King, (wherin there is insert verie muche), how that the putting of him frome his presence, together with other infinit displeasures receaved in Scotland and since, sould have occasiouned his death; referring this to the King's conscience; requesting, that his sonne may be the rather favoured and supported by him, in respect, his life is lost for the said King's service: showing farther, how he had commanded his sonne to follow the same course he had begunne, with the like affectioun to the Scotish King. And this muche is writtin in his other blankes to the Scotish noblemen, who favoured his factioun. There was with D'Aubigney, William Shaw, almost continuallie for three or four dayes space before his death, by whom everie particular might be discovered, if the said William could be wonne to speeke the truthe. Understand he is presentlie * * to the Scotish Queen's confederats. D'Aubigney was advised to require, that his bodie might be buried in Scotland, beside the Scotish King's father. He bequeathed his jewells to his wife, which the King of Scotland had given him. They have layed his

corps into a leaden kist, and sent it hence. I understand, Smallat hath given some of my Lord of Hammilton's friends to understand that he had beene in England; and that at the instance of D'Aubigney, had beene induced the rather to be means to the Scotish King to receive the Lord Hammilton into the Scotish King's favour.

Page 716, line 16, *to enter in ward.* *Drumquhassil* and Mr Johne Colvill obeyed, but the Laird of Cleische went to England. This forme of dealing was misliked by the Earle of Marr and Angus, but the King gave them faire words. The Earle of Montrose was chosen tutor and administrator to Lodovick, eldest son to umquhill Duke of Lennox.

Page 717.—A Conference between the King and some Ministers.

Upon Tuisday, the 16th [of July], the brethrein of the Presbyterie of Edinburgh thought good to send some to the King with diligence, to admonishe him, to be war with innovatioun of the state of Court, to trie reports, before credite were givin to them, and to beware with suspicioun of his good subjects; and last, tuiching the examinatioun of Holt, the English Jesuite. To this effect, were chosin Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Lowsone, Mr David Lindsay, and Mr Johne Davidsone. Mr James Lowsone was sent for by the King; who, going on the morne nixt, was accused by the King, for saying, that as the Duke thirsted [for] blood in his life, so he died in blood; for it was said he died in the bloodie fluxes. The King shew Mr James, who had delated him, to witt, the Proveist of Edinburgh, named Alexander Clerk. He had writtin to the King, which writting the King shew to Mr James. Mr Johne Davidsone roade to Dunfermline, tooke David Fergusone with him to Falkland, according to the advice of some of the brethrein. Upon Thursday, the 18th of Julie, David Fergusone and Mr Johne Davidsone comming to Falkland by twelve houres, found Mr James at his dinner with the Laird of Collythie. Mr James

minded to have ridden backe to Fordell that night, and would not have stayed, were not Mr Robert Pont and Mr David come, wherethrough Mr David Fergusone being discurraged for his comming, minded likewise to have returned backe, albeit Mr Johne Davidsone said, he would tarie still, till he saw some effect of his comming. Afterward, conferring what heads they sould speake on, at lenth they went fordward, agreeing to speake as the Lord sould assist them; and Mr James said, when Mr Johne Davidsone desired they sould goe to some chamber to pray, "Lett us pray, as the publican did, since place otherwise is denied to us." Now, after they came into the palace, and saw sindrie uncouth faces, the Erle of Argile came in, and tooke them all by the hand, for he was now come; whom they followed up to the chamber of presence, whither the King came straight, and satt him doun on a coffer, they all standing before the King; and the nobilitie standing by the King, eyed them verie earnestlie all about, and they him likewise mervellous gravelie, for the space of a quarter of an houre and more, all the whole companie keeping silence, to the admiratioun of all the whole beholders. After this, the King went into the cabinet, and some of the nobilitie, and tareing a little while, came out again; after the which the Ministers went in, none being in the cabinet but the King only. But after a little space Colonell Stewart came in. Mr David Lindsay brake off some speeches tuiching their comming, with which the King took hardlie; after whom followed Mr Robert Pont, saying, "Sir, we are come to desire your Grace to be ware with alterations, seing they are dangerous, and great appearance of danger see we thereby like to insue." The King said, he saw no alteratioun. Mr Robert replyed, that there was too great appearance. The King answered, "Where were all thir admonitions, this time twelve month?" Mr Robert answered, "We admonished your Grace in Sainct Johnstoun." So said Mr David Lindsay, &c. David Fergusone said, "If it were not for love of your Grace, we could have found another place to have spokin our minds than here." Which saying, indeid, made the King to shrinke in his face. David Fergu-

sone had sindrie good tuiches, seasoned with a mirrie kinde of utterance, as thir, "Sir, I would there were not a surname in Scotland, for they mak all the cummer." The King answered, "And so would I." David Fergusone proceeded, "No, Sir," said he, "if you go to surnames with it, I will reckon with the best of you in antiquitie, for King Fergus was the first King in Scotland, and I am Fergussone; but alwise, because, Sir, ye are an honest man, and hath the possessioun, I will give you my right;" which indeed made the King to be mirrilie disposed, and to say, "See, will ye heare him?" Afterward the King said, that no King in Europe would have suffered, &c. (See page 717, line 25.)

Page 719.—Gowrie seeketh a remission.

When the King was at Falkland, the Erle of Gowrie, to keepe himself in Court and prevent danger, flattered the King verie much. He found the moyen, that the King sould goe out of Falkland to Perth, where he intended to bring himself in farther credite with the King. When he was at Perth he invited him most earnestlie to Ruthven castell, where he promised to discover to him suche things as tended to the weelfare of his estate, which the King with great difficultie graunted. When the King was come to Ruthven castell, it was reported, that he reveeled unto him some high maters intended against him, whereunto he was privie, and craved pardoun. The truthe is, he confessed he had offended the King, in that anie thing sould have beene done at his house, which might have seemed offensive in his sight, and confessed, the deid done there failed in the forme, for the which he craved pardoun; which was obteaned. He notwithstanding constantlie affirmed, that the deid itself was not evill, in respect of the great danger wherein both religioun and the commoun wealth did stand at that time. This was done in presence of Argile, Atholl, Rothesse, and some others. Heerupon he was esteemed a double man. It was thought, he was privie to the King's departure out of Falkland to Sanct Andrewes, if not as a plotter, yitt as a consenter. Howsoever it was, changing his minde with the change of times, he came to a confessioun

of a fault in the fact of Ruthven, and tooke remissioun for it as treasoun; so condemning himself and his whole associats, and separating himself from them, in the end overthrew himself and the caus. William Stwart, brother to the Laird of Gaston, who had beene a colonell in Flanders, was brought home, and in credite with the King, by the Earle of Gowrie's moyen, of purpose to counterpace the greatnesse and credite of James Stwart, Erle of Arran. Others report, that the Erle of Gowrie was not privie to the change that was made at Sanct Andrewes; but perceaving that maters were gone astray, and that the King would remember his interteanement the last yeere, he resolved to prevent the inconvenient, if it were possible, and therefore desired the King's licence to come to him in a private maner, which when he had obteaned, when he came to the Castell of Sanct Andrewes, without anie farther process, he asked pardoun of the King upon his knees, for the fact committed the yeere before, and professed himself penitent for the same; as also, for the speeches he had uttered against the umquhile Duke of Lennox, &c.

Upon Tuesday, the penult of Julie, Mr John Grahame behaved himself verie arrogantlie before the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, being called to answere for opponing himself to Mr Walter, when he charged David Grahame, young Fentrie, latelie arrived at Leith out of France, upon the Thursday before, to compeere before the Presbyterie; who confessing Papistrie plainlie, desired release eight dayes that he might visite his father; which when he had obteaned he went to the King, of whome he was weill receaved.

In this meane time the Proveist, Bailliffes, and Counsell of Edinburgh obteaned a gift of the Kirk of Field, called Our Ladie Kirk; all benefices, yairds, and houses belonging thereto; and sicklyke, the umquhile Duke of Chattelherault's lodging on the north side, to erect a Colledge. The Bishops of Aberdeen, St Andrews, and Glasgow, alledged to the King and Counsell, that this erectioun was prejudiciall to their Universities. The King discharged the Toun of Edinburgh from farther proceeding, till the mater were reasouned in Parliament.

Page 731, after line 23.—Upon Thursday, the first of August, it was ordeaned, that the place of Lochlevin sould be delivered to the Erle of Rothesse, and the Laird to be warded in the North. But the Master of Glamis mater was mitigat.

Upon Fryday the secund, the King's old houshold servants were changed for the most part, and the rest were likewise to be removed, as James Murray of Powmaes, Captain Montgomerie, &c. Arran had beene receaved at Court upon Thursday, if the English Ambassador had not made impediment, which he afterward repented, becaus the King had promised otherwise to the Queene. The Ambassador, Mr Bowes, was not looked upon after the old maner. He gott presence but seldome.

Eight Ministers were writtin for to compeere at Sanct Andrewes, the 22d of this instant moneth of August, to approve, as was thought, the proclamatioun which was to be sett forth, and the change of Court made at Sanct Andrews, viz., Mr James Lowsone, John Durie, Mr David Lindsay, Mr Andrew Hay, Mr Thomas Smetoun, David Fergusone, Mr Patrick Galloway. But it was thought that John Durie sould have beene challenged for his last preaching.

The Erles of Montrose, Crawfurd, Arran, though yitt absent; Sanct Colmes Inche, Colonell Stewart, the two Melvills, the Laird of Segie, rule the Court.

Page 722, after line 12.—Upon Tuisday, the 6th of August, David Grahame, young Laird of Fentrie, compeering before the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, professed he was a Papist; yitt, notwithstanding, that he was not obstinat, but was content to heare reasoun. When conference was offered, he craved, that some in Angus might be chosin with whom he might confer, becaus he was not to remaine in Edinburgh, which was granted. He choosed the Laird of Dun, William Christeson, and Mr James Balfour; to whome the Presbyterie joyned Mr Andrew Melvill, to be sent for when the rest thought good. They write to the Presbyterie of Dundie tuiching this purpose.

Upon the Lord's day, the 11th of August, the Lady Arran was at sermoun.

Mr Bowes rydeth to Cowper, with a letter from the Queene of England, shewing her great discontentment at the proceedings heere, but in special, that he urged his subjects to crave needlesse pardons.

The King ryding to Cowper, his companie were affrayed of a fold of nolt.

Easter Wemes seeketh pardoun, and obteaneth it. Argile travelled with Marr at Stirline, to come and crave pardoun. He cometh on Fryday. The King in Sanct Andrews; Angus and Bothwell in the South, passing their time.

Upon Monday, the 26th of August, the Conventioun held at Sanct Andrewes; where conveened speciallie the favourers of the Duke and the Frenche factioun.

This day, Mr James Lowsone, John Durie, and some other ministers, tak journey toward Court. David Fergusone and some other ministers of Fife were sent for before, that the Court might grope their mindes.

Page 724, after line 13.—At this tyme the Queene of England minding to send Secretar Walsinghame to Scotland, was so long-some in preparing, the King of France directed the Erle of Morton, who was then in Parise, in all haist to our King. He came three or foure dayes to Court before Secretar Walsinghame came. A pasport was sent to Berwick upon Tuisday the 28th [27th] of August, conteaning this clause, that the Wardane sould take heed, that if anie of the Ambassader's servants or companie committed anie offense, he sould be punished as effeered; whereas in England, they command that none molest the Ambassader nor his, without punishment. Mr Bowes roade to Court, and obteaned a more sufficient passport.

Upon Saturday, the last of August, Secretare Walsinghame came frome Berwick, accompanied with 60 horse, and was receaved at the Boun-rode by the Lord Hume. Upon the Lord's

day, the first of September, he came to Edinburgh. Two of the Erle of Bedford's sonnes, and a sonne of the Lord Hounsdane's, Henrie Carie, were in companie with him. He was careid in a coache, becaus of his age and inabilitie. The King being at Cowper when he came, went to Perth.

The English ambassader stayed in Edinburgh till Saturday, the 7th, and then roade to Stirline, and frome thence to Perth, where he gott presence of the King, with whome he had a conference a good space. His commissioun was onlie to the King, and not to the Counsell. Amongst manie other things, this was required, that his Majestie would continue, &c. (See p. 724, line 18.)

Page 730, last line.—*Under the pain of ten thousand pounds;* and that be composition of two thousand pounds to the Erle of Arran.

Page 731.—Upon Monday, the 23d [September], word come to Mr Bowes to return to England, after he had desired the King to satisfie for the wrongs in the Borders.

Upon Friday the 26th [27th], a proclamation that at Berwick and Carlile that no Scot pass without passport. Upon the Lord's day, the 28th [29th], Mr Bowes road to Falkland to the King; but after manie fair words, he willed him to come again before his departure. He desired the King to repair the wrongs committed in the Borders, &c. The King promised fair.

Upon Wednesday, the second of October, Mr Bowes went to Falkland, and after he had gotten many fair words of the King, he took his leave.

Page 748, after line 13.—Amongst diverse Epitaphes made upon their deaths, the following was made by Mr Andrew Melvill. *Vae heu!* &c. [This epitaph, and the same "turned into English" by Mr James Melville, are contained in his Autobiography, Wodrow Society edition, p. 140.]

Upon the 22d of October, the letter following was directed from the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, to John Duncansone, the King's minister.

Understanding, beloved Brother, by his Majestie's answere to the Generall Assemblie, to their greefe tuiching young Fentrie, and his receaving into the Court, and admissioun to familiar communing with his Majestie, that a letter of commendatioun from our Presbyterie directed to you in his favour, was pretended, as sufficient excuse of that fact; as it was most greevous to us, that the Kirk of God thereby sould be anie wise frustrat of their expectatioun tuiching the speedie reforming of that abuse, so it was the more greevous to us, that our name sould be most falslie abused to that fact. For nather was anie suche thing ever meant by our whole Presbyterie in generall, nather by anie persoun therof in particular, that ever he sould come neere the Court, being the man he is, muche lesse, that anie letter sould be writtin in his favour, ather to you, or anie other about the King's Majestie. Alwise, after diligent triell, we have found that Mr George Mackesone, our clerk, being craftilie circumveened by the said Fentrie and his subtile perswasiouns, has writtin to you in our names, to the effect forsaid, which as he confessed, partlie, before the Generall Assemblie, so has he more fullie declared all the maner therof this day, before our Presbyterie, being urged earnestlie thereto in the name of God; and for the same, has craved God and us forgivenesse, promising, that it sall be a lessoun to him all the dayes of his life hereafter, never so simplie to give credite to the faire and fained speeches of anie Papist whatsomever. And what a man Mr George is in simplicitie (as we terme it) ye know weill eneugh. Wherefore, Brother, albeit the Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie will informe the King's Majestie of his treacherie and fals dealing, we doubt not yitt, as both we and ye have been abused with a letter in our name, so we thought we could doe no lesse, than informe you truelie heerof, by a letter from our self, subscrived by our Moderator in our name, to the end ye, having the more for you, ye may the more freelie informe

his Majestie, what truthe may be looked for at this man's hands, and what kinde of religioun his is, who beginnes so soone with craft and falshood to abuse such a companie of the servants of God. What lees (thinke ye,) will this man be bold to mak heerafter, who beginnes so soone, when he promises most truthe and plain dealing? But he keepes kinde of them he came frome: *Ex unguibus leonem æstima.*

From Edinburgh, the 22d of October, 1583.

JOHNE DURIE, Moderator, at the commandement of the Presbyterie.

Page 748, line 11, *Wedinsday the* 10*th* [16th].—After line 20.—It was looked, that the Parliament sould have holdin at Edinburgh, the 24th of October, according to the proclamation. But the King directed the Lord Newbottle, and the Clerk-Register, with a commissioun under the great seale to Edinburgh, to fense the Parliament. It was ordeaned, that the Parliament, with all summons of treasoun, reductioun, and all actiouns depending theron, with all causses concerning the commoun weale, sall runne, and not be dissolved, till expresse commandement of his Majestie and three Estats. This was contrived by craftie courteours, to make their commoditie of men. Manie were offended, speciallie, my Lord Angus, and sindrie others, who looked to have beene restored at this Parliament, according to promise. But they were disappointed.

Page 749, line 9.—[After a copy of the Proclamation referred to, there is added:—] Upon Wednisday the 5th [6th] of November, this charge was proclamed at the Cross of Edinburgh. John Durie inveyed vehemently against the iniquity of it in the pulpit.

Upon Monday, the elevinth, the King came to Kinneill, where he passed his tyme for a seasone.

Upon Wednesday, the 13th at night, the Duke of Lennox eldest son landed at Leith, accompanyed with the Master of Gray,

son to the Laird of Craigie-halls, and five or six others, Papists. The day following, Huntlie, Crawfurd, Montrose, and Collonel Stewart come to Leith and convoyed him to Kinneill to the King, who was exceiding glad of his coming. At the same time, *the Pryor of Blantyre*, &c. [See line 16.]

Page 750, line 28.—Upon Monday the 18th [of November], the Earl of Arrol came to Edinburgh, convoyed with a great company, after he had finished the solemnitie of the baptisme of his son, which had been long delayed, because the proud man could not be content untill the King were gossop.

Page 759, line 15.—*Upon Fryday the 28th* [29*th*]—Last line. —At this time, Arran was made a Lord of of the Seat. Upon the Lord's day following, began the Fast which was appointed by the last Generall Assembly, and continued all the week following till the next Sabbath. Mr James Lowsone, John Duric, Mr W. Balcanquell preaching by course, the one the forenoon, the other, afternoon.

Page 762, line 1.—*Appointed to be three pennie fyne*; but they were not a pennie fyne; and so the curss of God denounced by the Prophet saying, "Your silver shall be turned into dross," lay upon this country. This was done to get silver to Collonel Stewart, to pay the men of war. At this time, the times of King James the Third were called to remembrance. The King compared to King James the Third, who was deluded be Cochran, and the coin compared to Cochran's coine. The Burrows dissented from the breaking of the old coine.

There was at this time a Bond subscribed by the King and some of the Nobilitie, to persecute the Noblemen who were absent from the Road of Ruthven. Glencarne, March, and Orknay, who had subscribed the Bond of Ruthven, subscribed this also. Bothwell being required, refused. The Court marvelous proud at this time.

Page 762.—Mr J. Lowsone and J. Durie called before the King and Counsell.

Upon Fryday, the 13th of December, Mr James Lowsone and John Durie were called before the counsell, after noone, even as the third bell tolled. Sindrie things were proponed to them. The King said, "Sirs, I have called for you. The rumor is, that I am about to take some of your lives, and medle with your blood: it is not so. Nixt, that I may speeke some thing to Johne Durie, before you, Mr James." After this, he entered into the Road of Ruthven; and tuiching of the distinctioun of Johne, made of the effect of that roade, "It was good, howsoever it was done," they reasoned long upon that. The King asked, if they thought that effect good, that he was keeped presoner, and his kinsmen and servants hurt and takin? They said, they were not the effects they meant of, &c. Finallie, they went about to fish some confessioun of them tuiching a new act, &c. The Brethrein misliked meekle, that they went doun without the knowledge of the brethrein, &c. for sindrie causses. No man almost wist of their going doun; but after sermon, the mater being knowne, two or three hundreth went doun. They returned verie pensive, for John Durie was some thing circumveened. Being removed with Mr James, it was concluded, that Johne had transgressed the act, and therefore, to be punished at the King's will. They being called in again, and their judgements craved tuiching the act, after it was read in their presence, Mr James made answere. It was mere civill, and so belonged not to them; which opinioun John Durie following, said he had nothing to say against that act, yea, he allowed it. Upon which the Court took great hold, as a thing they thought made much for them; wherupon they made the act, that both Mr James and Johne Durie allowed the act, whereof, as the wicked took occasioun to rejoyce, so the godlie were much displeased.

Page 762.—Upon Friday, the 13th of December, Mr Thomas Smeton, principal of the Colledge of Glasgow, departed this life,

after eight days sickness, in a hot fever, to the great sorrow of all good men.*

The rumor of this went abroad fast that the Ministers had yeelded to the Court. But Mr John Davidsone preaching after noone, upon Saturday the 14th of December, (2 Chron. xxxiii.) concerning Manasse, so inveyed against King and Court, with such a high course and vehement, weill deduced off the text, and threatned the King so sore, that he said, He had done with it, and sould close that Race, (meaning the Stewarts,) without he repented, and left that wicked course he was entered into; that men were much satisfied tuiching the brute of the Ministers yeelding, for they perceaved rather a greater vehemencie against King and Court, than anie yeelding.

Mr James [Lawson] said to Mr Johne, after he had ended his sermoun, "This is a sad, sore, and high sermoun, for ye have runne high all the way upon the King." There had none at anie time before threatned the King himself after that maner, but rather excused his part in all things. And yitt, he did it with such reasoun and dexteritie, that none justlie could think but he spake it to the King's profit; for among manie other things, he said, He ceased not to be a loving friend and subject to the King; howbeit as the caus craved, he reproved publictlie the King's publict offenses: "for honie," sayeth he, "is sweet, and yitt, being layd to a sore, it byteth vehementlie, as Plutarch sayes, *De Amicitia*." Alwise the Brethrein feared Mr Johne that the Court would trouble him, and therefore sindrie conveyed him to his kirk of Libberton, on the morne; and thereafter thought good he sould keepe him quiett without the town, till farther was heard; which he did.

Great suspicion all this while among the godly that Mr Johne Davidson was to be called to Court for some high speeches uttered be him, therefore he went not so freely abroad as before, for ten or twelve days.

* By an oversight this short paragraph, noticing Smeton's death, has been misplaced: the words that follow should have been in immediate connexion with the last paragraph on the preceding page.

Page 763.—About this time, Mr Patrick Adamson, Bishop of Saint Andrews, who, after lang sickness had not only betaken himself to preach, but also keeped conventions of Counsell and Estates, and waited upon Court, went now *in ambassage to England*, &c.

Page 764, line 8.—Upon Thursday the 19th of December, the Lord Seton his horse was shiped at Leith, yet took he not ship himself till the 16th of Januar, howbeit he had been directed long before in ambassage to France. The pretended commission was for removing of certain customes imposed be the King of France upon our merchants, and for repairing of the Guard of Scottishmen, according to the old league. But it was suspected he had another secret commission, to acknowledge the King of France as the Most Christian King, to renew the old league.

Upon the same Thursday, the 19th of December, the Laird of Colluthie and Mr Mark Ker *came from the King*, &c. line 10.

Page 764, last line.—This day, he [John Durie] took journey to Dumfermline, accompanied with some of the professors of Edinburgh, to the Queensferrie, and with some further. After he had stayed some few dayes with his son-in-law, Mr James Melvill, at Saint Andrews, he goeth forward to his waird to Montrose, his son-in-law Mr James accompanying him. A little before he came to the foord of the water of Lounan, a sow entered in the high road before them, and trotted toward the foord, and sweemeth over before them, the water being well great in speat. When they were in the midst of the water, John Durie's horse lyeth downe in the water, and committeth his ryder to the swimming with the stream. But it pleased God that Mr James, being nixt under him, caught him by the coat neck, and he taking a gripe of his horse maine, waded and wonne to land.

Upon the Lord's day, the 22d, the King came to the great Kirk of Edinburgh, where he was witness to my Lord Bothwell's young son baptized that day.

VOLUME FOURTH.

Page 5, line 7, *read* Mr William Wallat [Welwood] Professor of Mathematics.

Page 18.—[It may be noticed that this account of Robert Bruce is repeated in nearly the same terms, at page 634.]

Page 22, line 23. Mr Thomas Lyan, *err. for* Lyon. [As second son of John seventh Lord Glammis, Thomas Lyon, of Balduckie and Auldbar, was usually styled "Master and Tutor of Glammis." He was afterwards knighted, and was High Treasurer of Scotland, from 1585 to 1595.]

Page 37.—[John Graham of Hallyards, who is here named, "My Lord Little-Justice," was Justice-Depute to the Earl of Argyle, and presided at the trials of Morton and Gowrye. He became afterwards one of the Ordinary Lords of Session.]

Page 45, line 33. Sutliffe,—[probably Matthew Sutcliffe, an English divine, and author of various controversial works, at a somewhat later period.]

Page 46, line 14.—But * * Leslie, his mother.—[Sir William Douglas of Lochleven, on whom the estates and honours of Morton devolved in 1588, married Lady Agnes Lesley, eldest daughter of George, fourth Earl of Rothes. Her eldest son, along with her son-in-law, Lawrence, Master of Oliphant, as mentioned in this page, perished at sea in March 1584.]

Page 50, line 2.—Geneva and Zurich. [In the table of contents, p. vi., *Turin* is printed erroneously for *Tigurin*, the Latin name of the town of Zurich.]

Page 122. BURGESSES OF EDINBURGH DISCHARGED.

Upon the 6th of June, some burgesses of Edinburgh were charged off the toun, and discharged to come near the King under the paine of death, viz., Adam Fullerton, merchant; Edward Galbraith, skinner; Gilbert Primross, cheirurgan; John Harlaw, sadler; John Adamson, merchant; George Gordon, tailour; John Dowgald younger; John M'Quharry, merchant; Andrew Napier, merchant; Philip Darling, merchant; Henry White, cordiner; William Tiddess, baxter; Robert Livingston, baxter; James Cowdon, skinner; Alexander Thomson, skinner; Robert Boyd, merchant; Thomas Somervel, maltman; Robert Lindsay, stabler. Upon the 22d of June, commission given to the Earle of Rothess, Collonel Stewart, and Alexander Areskin captain of the castle of Edinburgh, was proclamed at the cross of Edinburgh, viz., to pursue, arrest, and apprehend the King's rebells within the sherifdom of Edinburgh, Constabularie of Hadingtoun, Berwick, Selkirk, Peebles, Linlithgow, and Stirline, to hold justice courts, and, if need be, to conveen the King's subjects to make slaughter and raise fire where any impediment were made.

Page 123. MR DAVIDSON COMETH IN EMBASSAGE FROM ENGLAND.

When Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr Patrik Galloway, and Mr James Carmichaell were come to London, Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary, sent for them upon Saturday the 19th of June, and showes unto them the letter he had received from Scotland, from Mr Davidson, ambassadour, by post. Mr Davidson came in ambassage from England, six horse in train, the first of June. That the copy of Mr Lowson's letter sent to the Counsel of Edinburgh, being brought to court, Mr John Maitland, or the Bishop of Sanct Andrews, made an answer thereto, and it was sent back to Edinburgh, with a charge from the King that the Provest and Counsel should subscribe it, in effect to accuse their pastors of heresies, sedition, shism, and treason. Whereunto the Provost, Alexander Clerk, answered, he wished to live no longer than he

should be thus controlled to subscrive, contrary to his conscience, an untruth, to accuse the servants of God, the true teachers of concord amongst brethren, and obedience to princes in the Lord, of such vile crimes; and, for his own part, refused, lamenting he had done so much already, and so fell in soune, and was carried home sick to his bed; yet did they not desist from their accursed course, but insisted charging the Counsel to subscribe it. 2. That the Earle of Crawford was charged to render the Lord Lindsay to Huntley, which he refused; yet the charges under the pain of treason being doubled, it was thought he would not refuse him, casting off all natural affection; and so his life, which was thought before to be sure, was now thought to be in great danger. 3. That Montgomerie was preacher to the King, and the Bishop perturbed so Sanct Andrews, that many fled from the New Colledge for safety of their lives, as Mr James Melvill, Mr Thomas Buchanan; and so that Colledge was left desolat.

Mr James Lowson coming to London upon Munday the 23d of June, with Mr Walter Balcanquall, George Dowglas, Mr John Cowper, and John Dowglass tailour, show that Mr James Melvill was come to Berwick, in a boat that was hyred from Dundee be James Melvill, (under pretence of cariage,) with half a tunn of wine to Crail. She behoved to loose some sklaits at St Andrews, where she spent two hours, and he lay under the sails in that mean time with an unaccustomed art; and coming to Crail, renewed victuals, and consented with difficulty to come to Berwick to sell their wine. Mr James remained in Newcastle, for the Lords wrote for him, till he should hear from Mr Andrew that many of the toun of Edinburgh were called to Falkland, and some sent home; others discharged to come near Edinburgh ten or twelve miles. Seventeen wer discharged before Mr John Cowper came from Edinburgh.

Upon Tuesday the 24th of June, Mr James Carmichaell conferred with Mr Bowes, who shewed him that their cause had so many enemies, that blinded the Princess, and stayed the progress, that unless the Lord moved their hearts, he saw no present ap-

pearance; and albeit Mr Davidson had written most honestly and pithily in that cause, yet his reasons are no more regarded, and picks no more at them than this wall regards me. Mr James desired he might see the Secretar's advice concerning the declaration to sight it himself, or els to committ the sight thereof to him to report; and concerning the printing thereof, here secretly, and in Antwerp by name, *incerto authore et typographo*, to speak and search out the warrants as himself or the Secretar had.

When the greatest part of the citisens refused to subscribe the letter which the King and Court urged, some principal men of the session were sent for, and urged to subscrive. They took them to advisement, all except John Blackburn and John Adamsone, who *simpliciter* refused. Mr John Preston elder, said plainly before the King, he would not subscribe it; he would not call them seditious or evil men, whos doctrine and life he approved; he wold not be a false witness, and when he came out to the rest of the elders and they enquired how matters went, he said of the King, "I pray God, I never see his face again." They were sent for again, and yet shifted the matter, but in end consented, and subscribed.

Page 123. JOHNE BLACKBURNE'S ACCUSATION AT FALKLAND, 28th Junij [1584.]

Upon the 28th day of Junij, certan of the brethrein of the Kirk of Edinburgh, as weill of elders as deacons, to the number of ellevin, were charged to compeere before the King's Majestie and Counsell, being at Falkland. They being all present in counsell, the Lord of Arrane desired Johne Blackburne to stand by the rest a space, which he obeyed. Therafter, the King's Majestie beginnes an harang, showing, that in three points they had committed treasoun: in receaving, reading, and concealing the Letter which the Ministers sent to the Kirk and Counsell of Edinburgh, before he and his Counsell had seene the same: which, notwithstanding of his clemencie, he had graunted pardoun of the same. Then he demaunds of them all standing there, if they had seene that

letter; who answered all, they had not, howbeit some of them had seene the same. Then sayes the King's Majestie, "I cannot then preasse you before ye see it; but when ye come home, doe it:" who answered, they sould satisfie his Grace. Then he demands of Johne Blackburne, if he had seene it? He answered, "Yes, and it like your Majestie."

Quest. "Where?" *Ans.* "Before the Counsell."

Quest. "What is the caus that thou subscrived not?" *Ans.* "Becaus it is against the word of God and my conscience." With this the King turnes himself in his chaire, and laughs, and sayes, "We have gottin a Scripturar!"

Quest. "Whereinto is it against the word of God?" *Ans.* "Yes, Sir, almost in all heids, bot speciallie concerning the doctrine. It is said there, they seldome exhorted us to follow the meaning of the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. Sir, that servant of God, Mr James [Lawson], being teaching that Epistle, he taught that chapter as he did the rest, according to the meaning of the Spirit of God, and applyed the same to the confort of the auditor. As also, Mr Walter [Balcanqual], teaching latelie Ecclesiastes, having the same mater, most earnestlie desired us to follow our Magistrats. But farther, Sir, the continuall prayer made after sermoun for the preservatioun of your Majestie's persoun and authoritie, as your Majestie and nobilitie have heard, may declare."

Then said the King, "I say not they did it not, but they seldome did it." *Ans.* "So oft as occasioun was offered." Then was he threatned by the Lord Arrane: the King sayes, "Lett him be."

Quest. "What sayes thou to the causes of the Ministers going away? are they good or not?" *Ans.* "Yes, Sir; I heard them but once read before the Sessioun, and I thought them good." Then the Lord Arran desired his Majestie to lett him be, and they sould tak an order with him; and said, "The sinewes of his craig yuiked: suche a proud knave never presented the King's Majestie and Counsell: I see he would be away;" with manie other words.

Then the King sayes, "He will say that the Road [Raid] of Ruthven was good too? What sayes thou of it?" *Ans.* "Sir, as to the Road of Ruthven, I am but a man of meane estate and judgement, and knowes not that."

Quest. "Knowes thou not, that there is an act in the Generall Assemblie, affirming that it is good, and not yitt delete?" *Ans.* "Sir, at that time by your Commissioners, as my Lord Colonell present was one, and in your Majestie's name ye declared, it was good service."

Quest. "But understands thou not, that after I had by sindrie proclamatiouns made the contrarie knowne, John Durie preached in pulpit that it was good, and would defend the same?" *Ans.* "Sir, and lyke your Majestie, he has beene before your Majestie alreadie."

Quest. "Yea; but what sayes thou? heard thou him not say it?" *Ans.* "I am out of memorie."

Quest. "Thou forgetts all that thou likes not of, but thou must be putt better in minde?" The King's countenance appeared unto Johne somewhat moved at him.

Quest. "Heard thou Johne Brand teache upon Wedinsday was eight dayes? I sall tell the place of scripture; it was upoun the 2d chapter." *Ans.* "It is trew, Sir."

Quest. "What sayes thou to that?" *Ans.* "It was godlie taught, according to the meaning of the Spirit of God in that place, and applyed to the confort of the auditor."

Quest. "But heard thou nothing spokin against me and my authoritie?" *Ans.* "Nothing, and like your Majestie." Then the Lord Arran and Montrose threatned him with manie injurious words.

Then, said the King, "Will thou answere? Are the causes which the Ministers sent good or not?" *Ans.* "Yes, Sir; but I desire of your Majestie, becaus I heard them read but onlie in presence of the Sessioun, that I may have the authentick copie of that letter, together with the booke of God, and as the Lord sall assist I sall answere to that heid, and the rest which your Majestie has demaunded of me."

The King rises furth of his place, as appeared therafter in anger, and rumnes to the foote of the boord, where was Mr Robert Young, the clerk, and takes frome him the pennes, ink-horne and paper, and gives him; and he fell doun on his knees, and thanked his Majestie, and receaved them. Then sayes Arran, "Thou hast a costlie servaunt, but it sall be upon thy owne expenses." Then the King's Majestie himself tooke him to a by-boord, the Counsell sitting still, and stood at the heid of the boord, and said, "Write on." He beganne, and said on this maner, "The Lord Jesus assist me by his Spirit." The King turnes him to the Counsell, and cries, "I cannot tell how he will end; he beginnes weill."

So they rise frome the Counsell, for it was dinner time. The Erle of Arran comes when he is writting a maner of a preface. The King sayes unto him, "Come away from him," and tooke him away by the doublet sleeve. And then the Secretar comes, and looks upon his writting, and sayes, "Tak heed what ye write." He answered, "As the Lord will move me by his Spirit. But I beseeke your Lordships that ye would desire the King's Majestie, that I may have libertie to goe to a place where I may have time to answere as his Majestie has commaunded me." Said he, "I sall doe that." Then the King's Majestie calles on the Erle of Arran and the Colonell; and after they had spokin the Colonell causes write a little ticket, and sends for the Serjaunt of the Footeguarde. The Serjaunt letts him see the ticket, and was sorrie; which was first to put him in the yrons, and said, "I must obey, or ellis it is my life." John answered, "Na, doe, serjaunt, as ye are commaunded." Then the yrons were brought, and he said to the Serjaunt, "Ye sall passe to my Lord Colonell, and shew him there is no place without I ly doun upoun the floore, which I cannot doe: As to the window, it is so high I cannot stand with the yrons upon me; and see if his Lordship will lett them byde off me till night." Which was graunted untill night, and charge given to him that none came to him, but that he sould be occupied in writting as the King had commaunded.

Then came the Colonell that same night, and speered if anie

had resorted? The Serjaunt answered, "None," as it was true. "What has he beene doing in the meane time?" said he. "He was," said they, "writting since dinner time untill supper, and now, he is sleeping." Sayes my Lord, to the chargers and companie present, "It appeares he takes little thought what he has to doe." And then the souldioury wakened him, and he arose, not beleeving the yrons were upon him, and fell doun in the bed. Then the Lord Colonell sayes to him, "Has thou done with the writtings thou promised to the King?" *Ans.* "Not, my Lord, but, God willing, at your Lordship's rysing they sall be readie."

He wrote in the guard house three writtings. The one was tuiching the Ministers in their life, doctrine and conversatioun; the other, a Supplicatioun of his owne, purging him of all treasoun, shewing his meane estate, which could indure the great charges layed upon him, which at the least was two merks everie day, being in Falkland, which continued the space of a moneth there, and in Dumfermline, five weekes and three dayes. The thrid, was an answere to the heids proponed by the King's Majestie. He could not gett time to copie anie of them, they were ever so preassing upon him. After he had ended, the Captain of the Guard, James Stewart of Traquare, was sent to receave them, which was after supper; for speciallie at that time they use to goe to counsell, and lye in the morning till nyne or tenne houres. The said James Stewart comes down to him and said, he had delivered them, and that the King was reading them himself; "Therefore (sayes he) looke that ye have writtin nothing that will bring your self in anie danger:"—for it appeares, the King was moved with it, as it fell out after. "I thank God, (said Johne), his Majestie has read such a poore man's wryting as myne." He said, he had givin it to my Lord of Arran. After the reading, he was putt againe in the yrons, where he remained by the space of six days; but the Serjaunt being favourable unto him, he was partlie releeved, they being absent both day and night. Therafter, was sent unto him James Chisholme, one of the Master Households, who twice accused him most seveerelie. The effect was most to seduce him to

the subscribing of that letter. And so, therafter he remained, untill it pleased God that the whole Lords for the most part were absent; and by the great diligence of Mr George Young, he was wairded in Dumfermline, which was no small comfort unto him. Whill he was going to Dumfermline, Mr Robert Young shew him, that the King desired the Secretar to mak dittay, and to summoun an assise in the toun and about, which was stayed.

Page 124. [In his larger Manuscript, Calderwood has introduced the chief part of a letter addressed by "Mr James Carmichael to my Lord Angus," from London, 6th July 1584. It will be found printed entire, from the original, in the Wodrow Miscellany, pages 413-419. It is followed by a copy of "Notes for Mr Patrick Galloway his memorie, 4th July 1584, going to Newcastle, to the Lords." This also is printed in the same work, p. 419.]

Page 125, line 31. [Wodrow in the margin of his transcript, p. 432, notices that this short paragraph is not to be found in Calderwood's larger MS., but occurs in what he describes as Volume Fourth of the original, being the "shorter draught than the former volumes," beginning with page 756.]

Page 141, line 26.—[In his larger Manuscript, Calderwood has preserved a copy of the Dialogue here referred to, under the title of "A Conference betwixt two Neighbours of Edinburgh, tuiching the subscriving of a letter sent to the Congregation of Edinburgh by the King's Majestie, &c." It is much too long, however, for insertion in this place.]

Page 148, after line 26.—Sir Francis Walsinghame sent for Mr Bowes, Mr Lowsone, Mr Andrew Melvill, and Mr Walter Balcanquall and Mr James Carmichaell, to suppe with him upon the Lord's day, the 19th of Julie, and send unto them the newes following:—

Monsieur Manningwill comming to Scotland, to give thanks to the King for deliverie of Holt; but becaus he could not come without suspicioun, therefore an other privat persoun was sent, called * * who abode secreetlie in Leith, whill Downe was sent to fetche him. He was supposed to bring money. That Setoun was looked for. That the King said of the Prince of Orange murther, he had gottin a worthie rewaird of his rebellioun and treasoun, and professed them all mirrie therat. Mr Robert Pont troubled for protesting against Acts of Parliament. Mr Johne Thamesone to thole an assize, and some brethrein of the eldership of Glasgow summoned to Perth *super inquirendis* before the Counsell. The sword sent hallowed by the Pope, and * * The charging of the Ladie Ruthven, not to come neare the Court by 12 myle, and some coffers of hers discovered in West Weemes spoiled, to the augmenting of her greefe. The Ladie Arran trowed she had beene with a devill. The great trouble of manie in Edinburgh for not subscriving. Mr William Schene and Mr William Bellendine, Jesuits, conferred at lenth with the King, and obteaned licence for Jesuits to come in Scotland with his oversight, if they will stand to their eventure in the furie popular. Mr Davidsone wrote to the Secretar, to obteane pasport to Argile to passe through England to France, to Spaw, &c. Bothwell was likewise to depart to France. The Erle of Atholl interdyeted to show anie favour to his good-mother. Eglintoun, Master of Seton, and Glancarne at variance in Edinburgh calsay. Westraw and the Master of Yester fought in Edinburgh calsay. Maxwell and Johnstoun on the borders fought, sax slaine.

About the same time were writtin some Occurrences to the banished Ministers, the summe wherof, that the Reader may understand the state of the Kirk and countrie at this time, followeth:

1. It is thought of manie, that the King's proceedings are too muche extreme, and it is resolutelie deemed of all, that his Majestie mindes not to tak other counsell or meane, before he wracke them against whom he has begunne.

2. The banishment of the Ministers, or rather departure, has quenched the love of his subjects hearts.

3. The King has denied a writting himself, to answere the Ministers letter sent to the Toun of Edinburgh, wherin he condemnes them of false doctrine, and to be ravening woolves; to which the whole Counsell has assented, except William Littill, bailiffe, Andrew Sklater, Thomas Fisher, Alexander Oustene, Alexander Udward, Johne Barnfather, and other three of the Kirk. Their refusall will procure their punishment.

4. Sa manie as were in the kirk-yaird, when the Duke was putt at, are banished Edinburgh by twelve myles, and the Court also.

5. Upon Monday last, all that are in England are summoned to the nixt Parliament in August, with the Countesses of Marr, elder and younger, with other women, to be forfaulted.

6. The Proclamatioun that no tenants sould make payment of the Ministers stipends 1583, 1584, but give the same to the Collector, till the King be further advised. So none sall be left to serve in the Church.

7. Mr William Schene, with an other preest, is arrived heere; and reported for truth, that Mr William Crichton the Jesuit, also Fentrie, is absolved by the King and the Bishop of Glasgow. They are both in Court.

8. The Bishop of Sanct Andrewes is verie asper in his preachings; and Mr Johne Craig, being left by the King to preache in Edinburgh, is recalled to Court for his plaine preaching, namelie, upon the 129th Psalme.

9. Crawfurd and Arran discorded hotelie about Lindsay, so that the King's favour was withdrawin from him by that moyen; but being of late outwardlie agreed, he has some outward show of Court.

10. It is suspected, the discord of the Lords sall move more her Majestie, than anie particular respect of the banished.

11. The English Ambassader has beene at the Court, who appeares to be a wise discreet gentleman. He remaines in Edin-

burgh, and longs till her Majestie recall him backe again. The honour which is done to him is little, for none darre haunt his companie.

12. The Clerk of Register, as it is reported, sall be displaced, and Segie in his place.

13. Bothwell has discorded with his wife now latelie, who has borne him a sonne. He has agreed with Arran.

14. It is reported, that the Master of Areskine sall rander the Castell to the Colonell, who sall be Proveist of Edinburgh; the other to gett Alloway. Atholl was desired to be interdyted, fearing that he sould have supported Gowreis childrein, but he would not on no wise. Arran in Edinburgh. Crawfurd, Huntlie, Rothesse, Ogilvie, Crawfurd, and Huntlie to depart after noone; the other to-morrow, who is come to visie his wife at the doun-lying. The Abbot of Dumfermline has past with licence, but not without hazard, if he had not made a speedie sailing, to Denmark, as is reported, or to Flanders.

Page 149, after line 8.—Upon Saturday, the 6th of Junij 1584, in Newcastell, the Erles of Angus and Marr, the Master of Glames, with my Lord Dryburgh, Cambuskenneth, and Paisley, in presence of some barons and gentlemen, desiring effectuouslie of Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr James Carmichaell, Mr Patrik Galloway, and Mr Johne Davidsone, that they might have some of them to remaine with them, for their confort and instructioun; promising all obedience to the word and ministrie thereof, to the uttermost that stood in them; and acknowledging some slacknesse in their duties in times past, which heerafter they would amend according as the word sould crave, in whatsoever thing: It was thought good, by commoun consent, that Mr Johne Davidsone sould remaine till Mr James Lowsone and Mr Walter sould come frome Beruick, who comming, thought good also that Mr Johne sould stay, till Mr James Melvill came from Beruick, who was sent for by commoun consent. The times and maner of exercise were remitted to Mr Johne his appointment,

so long as he sould taric, and to Mr James and others likewise, as things fell out. Mr Johne keeped this order, everic Wednsday and Fryday, at ten houres before noone, and Sunday at foure houres after noone, they had a sermoun for the space of an houre, with prayers, and psalmes sung, as in Edinburgh was used. Everie day before dinner, and also before supper, prayers, with a chapter read, and some notes shortlie gathered out of some historie of the Scriptures. The same historie continued after dinner and supper at table, with some short notes, and a psalme sung. As tuiching discipline, with the minister were appointed elders, my Lords of Dryburgh, Cambuskenneth, and Paisley, to keepe sessioun everie Wednsday after sermoun, at what time triell and censure was had of commoun swearers, drunkards, filthie speekers, byders frome sermouns, abusers of their bodies in whooredome, or fighters; and, being convict, were remitted to their masters as Magistrats civill to punish as they thought good. And in case they became slanderous to the companie, they were to satisfie before them. It was appointed, that the ministers and elders themselves give all good exemple in life.

Page 150, line 14. [In his larger Manuscript, Calderwood introduces a copy of a letter addressed to "my Lord of Angus and Marr, the Master of Glames, and other noble and gentlemen in companie with them, at this present, in Newcastell." This letter, written by James Melville, is contained in his Autobiography, Wodrow Society edition, p. 173. It is followed by "The Order and manner of Exercise of the Word," &c., also written by Melville, and printed in the same volume, p. 181.]

Page 157. In the beginning of Julie, the Proveist, Bailiffes, and Counsell of Glasgow, came to the kirk of Glasgow, and tooke doun Mr David Weemes, minister, out of the pulpit, and placed the excommunicat Bishop, at command of the King. The Regents would not goe to the Bishop's preaching, becaus he was excommunicat. The King and Counsell sent for them; and being in-

quired what reason they had, they answered, Becaus he was cursed. They said, They had loused him. It was answered, They had no power to absolve him. The whole foure Regents were putt in waird in the beginning of August, two in the Castell of Glasgow, and two in the Castell of Sanct Andrews; and immediatlie thereafter, by opin proclamation, the Colledge of Glasgow discharged, and the schollers commaunded to goe home, till new Masters were provided.

Page 198, line 5, *read* George Douglas of Parkhead.

Page 198, after line 8. In time of this Parliament, to witt, upon the Lord's day, the 23d of August, Mr P. Adamsone, bishop of Sanct Andrewes, made a flattering sermoun, before noone, to the King and Court, in the great kirk of Edinburgh. The Bishop of Aberdeene made the like, after noone, to the great greefe of the godlie. Upon Moonday, the 24th of August, the King went over the water to Falkland. He was in paramours with the Ladie Burleigh, spous to umquhile Mr [Sir] James Balfour, Persone of Flisk; *and left behind him*, &c. [line 17.]

Page 198, after line 25. Upon the Lord's day, the penult day of August, no sermoun in Edinburgh, none weill affected durst tak in hand to teache, for there was a charge givin the 24th of August, by opin proclamatioun, to all Shireffs, Lords, Erles, Barons, and gentleman hearing anie minister speake ather in pulpit or privilie against the King, his progenitors, or his proceedings in Parliament, to delate him before the King; declaring that it sould be accepted as good service.

Page 199, after line 22.—The Bishop of Sanct Andrewes flattered by word and writt Mr Andrew Melvil's freinds. His doctrine, for the most part, was spent in defence of the King's superioritie, and of the Bishops. He cited some historeis to prove the same. The schollers were als bussie to searche; and finding no

suche thing in the places alledged, informed everie man they spake with. And whereas before it was said, they would beleeve nothing he spake out of the pulpit, now, it was said, they would beleeve nothing he spake, ather in pulpit or out of pulpit.

At this time, after the Bishop had examined Mr Johne Robertsone and Mr Andrew Duncane, he said to the King, "By the Lord God, Sir, had that enemie to lawfull authoritie remained another halfe-yeere, he had pulled the crowne off your head by his seditious doctrine; for he taught, that Kings sould come by electioun, as the multitude pleased to make them, up or doun."

Page 200, after line 6.—The copie of the Charge followes:—

Traist Freinds, we greete you weill. Being most carefull and desirous to remove the slaunder of your want of preaching, by appointing of learned, quictt, and godlie-spirited pastors, to supplie your deserted places of your late Ministers: And finding it most necessarie, for the better commoditie of their habitatioun, the houses appointed for your ministrie presentlie possessed by these men's wives and families be made voide, and red to them, to the effect they may enter immediatlie thereto: we have therefore directed our letters, charging the saids Ministers wives, to remove them and their families furth of the said severall housses, to the said effect; and therewith, another charge to some women within your Toun, worse affected to the obedience of our late Acts of Parliament, to retire them benorth our water of Tay for a space, till they give farther declaratioun of their dispositioun to our obedience; which charges, if they sall happin to be sittin by the saids persouns, it is our will, and we command you, that of your office ye see the same obeyed; both the one and the other removed, according to the tenor thereof, without farther delay nor is accorded to them by the charges, as ye will answere to us, and will be comptable to us upon the contrarie.

Subscribed with our hand at Falkland, the 8th of September, 1584.

JAMES R.

ARRAN. MONTROSE.

Page 200, after line 9.—The livings of the banisched Lords are assigned to these persons:—

1. The Erle of Arran has all the living and lands of the Erle of Gowrie as lye within the parts of Lothian; such as Dirleton, Causten [Cousland], Guillan, Kirknewton, &c. Crawfurdstone, [Crawford, the Abbey of Scone.]

2. The Erle of Montrose, the rest.

3. The Erle Huntlie, Pasley, and the lordship of Brechin, which was the Erle of Marr's.

4. The Colonell, the Tutorie of Glames, and all the Master's living; [and] Tamtallan.

5. The Secretarie, Bonkill.

6. The Lord Hume, Cockburnspeth.

7. The Master of Areskine, Alloway, as it is reported.

8. The Castell of Areskine, [to] Glencarne.

9. Barganie and Blaquhane, the conjunct fee of the Ladie Arbrothe.

10. Johnestoun, Torthorell.

11. Edinburgh, Dryburgh, as it is reported.

12. Fentoun, David Murrey and George Hume.

13. Huntlie, Buquhan.

14. Master of Elphinstoun, Carnock.

15. The Ladie Angus, Abernethie.

16. Sir William Stewart, Dowglas.

The Prisoners are these:—

1. Lindsay, in Fenhaven.

2. Tutor of Cassils, in Blacknesse.

3. Mr David Lindsay, in Blacknesse.

4. Mr William Leslie with Johnestoun.

5, 6, 7. The Proveist of Glencludden, and Laird of Dumlanrig, in Edinburgh Castell; and George Drummond, of the Balloch, there.

8. The Ladie Marr elder, in Tullibardin.

9. Mr Andrew Hay, in the North.

10. Johne Durie, in Anguse.
11. The Bishop of Murray, with Huntlie.
12. George Fleck, with Montrose.
13. The Ladie Arbrothe, first in Edinburgh, but now banished to England.
14, 15, 16. All the Elphinstons beyond Dee, with others of the freinds of the house of Marr, James, Michael, and William.

Page 200, line 11. DAVIE THE DIVELL SLAIN.

Upon the 10th of September, [1584,] the Erle of Bothwell accompanied with forty horse, set upon David Hume, son to the goodman of Manderston, and slew him. The Lord Hume was warded in Tamtallan, under pretence that he should not revenge the slaughter; but the true cause was, becaus he would not give over the third of the lands of Dirletoun to the Erle of Arran, who had now gotten Gowrie's part.

About the same time, the Lord Athol was warded in the Castle of Edinburgh, under colour that he would not give a summe of money, to wit, a thousand merks to * * * *; but the true cause was, becaus he would not repudiat his wife, the Erle of Gowrie's daughter, and taillie the living to his House. The Master of Cassils was also warded, becaus he refused to give Arran a certain summe of money. Cesford was about this time warded beyond Spey, becaus he would not assist Fernihirst as wardan.

Upon the 10th of September, the Earle of Argile departed this life, in Murray.

Upon the 12th of September, the Abbot of Dumfermline came out of Flanders sick, with the Collonel's wife. He obtained licence to remain in the Lyme-kylnes, beside Dunfermline.

Cuthbert Armorer was sent to the court of England the 4th [14th] of September, with George Drummond of Blair his depositions, which serve nothing to prove the conspiracie whereof Arran wrote, and whereupon he obtained the Castle of Edinburgh: nothing can be collected thereof against the Lords.

About this time, Mr William Crighton was taken coming from Holland, and shortly after brought to London.

Upon Tuesday the 6th of October, the Magistrats of Edinburgh were chosen; Arran was made provost; Henry Nisbit, William Nisbit his brother, William Harvie, and James Nicoll, bailies; Thomas Ross, treasurer; Nicoll Udward, dean of gild. So Arran is now at his hight; for he is Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, Provost of Edinburgh, Lord Even [Lord of Avane and Hamilton], Earle of Arran, great Chanceller.

Page 201, &c. [In his larger Manuscript, Calderwood has inserted a minute account of "Mr JAMES LOWSONE'S DEATH," and also various other papers and letters in the years 1584 and 1585, chiefly copied from the MS. collections of Mr James Carmichael, one of the banished ministers. Most of these have already been printed, either from the Originals, or from Calderwood, in the Wodrow Miscellany, vol. i. pages 424-449.]

Page 208. Before the Master of Gray went to England, there was moyan made to bring home Claud Hamiltoun, and that be Seton, his good father, who at this time was ambassador in France, and by my Lord Huntly, his sister son, and Sir John Maitland, then Secretar, and that without Arran's knowledge, as was supposed. He came to Scotland the 3d of November, upon the King's simple promise, without the knowledge of the Queen and the Counsell of England, who had been liberal to him before, and without the knowledge of his oun brother, the Abbot of Arbrothe. He was drawen home to make the banished Lords in England weaker, but Arran was not contented; therefor he was commanded to the north, to the Earle of Huntly, his sister son, where he remained a good space, at which time Huntly came to court, drawn be Sir John Maitland, as was thought to outmatch Arran in Counsell; but Arran carried it away, be reason of Huntlie's follie. Arran drew in Bothwell, and bowstered him up against Manderstoun. Some report, that the said Claud, passing from Seton to West

Nidrie, was besett in the Links of Leith be the Erle of Arran, was stayed be the Erle of Huntlie, who convoyed him to West Nidrie; from thence he went to Strabogie, there to remain during the King's will.

A Fast was solemnly keeped at Halyrudhous from the 24th of October till the 2d of November. There was no preaching at Edinburgh at this time, which before was the lantern of the world. In time of this Fast the word of Mr James Lowson's departure cometh to Edinburgh, whereat the godly shed many tears.

At this time, my Lord Claud, one of Duke Hamilton's sons, who had been banished in England long before for conspiring against the King's authority, and slaughter of the Erle of Lennox at Stirling, returned home upon a privat warrant of the King's. He came out of England without the Queen of England's knowledge; the Queen of England was offended at him, for his ingratitude: for she bestowed upon him 500 pound sterline a year.

About this time, a great dissention arose betwixt the Erle of Bothwell and Lord Hume, for the slaughter of David Hume, son to Manderstoun.

The 2d of November, there was a charge given to certain houses of Louthian to be delivered to the King: for at this time the King and Court were afraied of the banished Lords. Therefor the whole gentlemen of Lothian were charged to come to Court to attend upon the King's person, who remained 14 days or thereby.

The same day there was a proclamation made in all Burrow touns betwixt Stirline and Berwick, summoning the Ministers in these bounds to compear before the Archbishop of Sanct Andrews or other the King's officers, in the Kirk of Edinburgh, the 16th of the said month; a particular copy was delivered to every Minister personaly apprehended, or else at their dwelling places, to subscribe the promise and obligation contained in the late Act of Parliament, with certification, if they failzie, that their benefices, living and stipends shall be deemed and declared to vaik, *ipso facto*, as if they were naturaly dead, conform to the tenour of our

Soverane Lord's letters in all points. The like of this was never used before in the country.

At the day appointed the Ministers in the kirk of Edinburgh compeared. The Bishop and Sir John Maitland had thir words in effect; "The King's Majestie is glad of your temperance, for hereby he hath conceived an assured trust of your obedience and meaning toward him, and therefor willed me to assure yow of his good will; and to the end that ye may be out of doubt thereof, he willeth you to come to the Abbey of Halyrudhouse, at two hours afternoone, and ye shall hear the same out of his oun mouth." Thir words being spokin they were dismissed. Here mark that the Bishop before noon had been bussie with the King, to call them before the Counsell, and speak to them himself, which would make them come over stayes, and satisfy his desire.

At afternoon, the whole Ministers went to the Abbey at two hours, and remained till four hours. Then the King came to the Counsel, and the whole Ministers were called to come up to the Chapell, the which they did; and then being there, the chapell door was closed, and they remained the space of half an hower. Then the Clerk of Register came, and desired all beneficed ministers to come into the Counsel. Thus were they divided; for they thought that they who had benefices should be first handled, whom they thought, for fear of the loss of their benefices, would be most easily perswaded, always they taryed not long there. After the unbeneficed ministers were called upon, who, when they came in, the King made an oration in thir words in effect: "I have sent for you for two causes, the one is ordinary, the other is accidentary: the ordinar is, because at this time of year ye are accustomed to have your stipends apointed; as also to have your assemblies; and I being minded that ye shall be as well provided for as before, and better, I have sent for yow. The other cause why I have sent for yow was, because it is come to my ears that ye speak against my lawes, and that I mind to subvert religion; I thought good to advertise yow of the contrary, and will desire yow to take no such sus-

pition of me. Beside this, there are certain whisperings and mutinies among my subjects raised be such as have attempted against my authority. Therefor I will desire yow to perswade all my subjects to obedience, and that ye yourselves will obey my lawes for good exemples sa be." To this it was answered, "That they would obey him and his lawes so far as they agreed with the law of God." At the which the King was angry, and his face swelled and spoke thir words: "I true [trow] I have made no lawes, but they agree with God's lawes; and, therefor, if any of yow find fault, tell me now." At the which they keeped all silence, except this that was said, "They were not privie to the making of these lawes." To whom the King answered, He thought them not worthy; and with this, after many high and proud words given them, they were dismissed to the chapell again. Within a little while the Bishop came to the Counsell house door, and bad them all attend upon the Exchequer house till morne, and receive their Assignation, and were let furth about six hours at night. Many of them were discontented with themselves, that they had not entered in particulars, and told the King that his Acts were against God's law, and minded on the morn to have given in their minds in write. But that night it was concluded in Counsel, that they should all subscrive on the morn a promise and obligation, the tenour whereof is:

"We, the Beneficed men, Ministers, Readers, and Masters of schools and colleges, testify and promise be thir our hand writts, our humble and dutiful submission and fidelity, to our Sovereign Lord the King's Majestie, and to obey with all humility his Hienes Acts of his late Parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 22d of May, *anno* 1584 years; and, that, according to the same, we shall show our obedience to our ordinar Bishop or Commissioner appointed, or to be appointed be his Majesty, to have the exercise of the Spiritual jurisdiction in our diocie; and, in case our inobedience in the premisses, our benefices, livings and stipends to fail, *ipso facto*, and qualified and obedient persons to be provided in our roomes, as if we were naturaly dead."

Upon the morn, which was the 17th day, the Ministers were called, and this read unto them. A great number hearing of it, compeared not; and they who compeared, refused to subscribe, except thir men following, viz., Mr George Hepburn, person of Hawick, who first subscribed; Mr Alexander Hume, person of Dunbar, who was second; Mr Patrik Gait [Gaites], person of Dunce, was third; Mr George Ramsay, dean of Restalrig; Mr Walter Hay, provost of Baithans; Mr James Hamilton, minister of Ratho; Alexander Forrester, minister of Tranent; Alexander Lawder, minister of Lauder; Michael Bonkle, minister of Innerweek; Mr Cuthbert Bonkle, minister of Spott: Thomas Daill, minister of Stenton; with divers Readers who were old priests before. The rest refused.

Upon the 23d day thereafter, there was a publick proclamation, making mention, that where the King had called in the ministry, under the diocie of the Archbishop of Sanct Andrews to subscribe his obedience and Acts of Parliament; but, specialy, the Acts made in the Parliament, holdin at Edinburgh, the 22d day of May 1584. The which the most part had refused, howbeit, a certain of the most learned and wise had obeyed; (this was false; for they were both unlearned and hirelings that subscribed,) and, therefor, discharged all their stipends that refused; and commanded the Collector-general to intromitt and take up the same to his Majestie. Also in this proclamation there were nine summoned to compear, the 7th day of December, to give in their reasons why they would not subscribe; whose names are thir, Mr Robert Pont, Adam Johnston, Nicol Dalgleish, William Purie, Andrew Symson, Patrik Symson his son, John Clapperton, John Craig, and Patrick Kinlowie [Kinloquhy]. The cause wherefor thir were summoned, was, to get Mr Robert Pont, Mr Adam Johnston, Mr Nicol Dalgleish, and John Clapperton, whom they esteemed most constant in this cause; albeit, there were enough in that rank. The whole nine compeared except Mr Robert Pont, Mr Adam Johnston and Mr Nicol Dalgleish, who were taken before, and are presently in ward.

The day of their compearance was on Munday, where the King, with many cruell and rageing words, inquired, "Why they would not subscribe his statuts?" They answered, "They had reasons for them, or else they would not have disobeyed." Then they desired that they might be superceded two or three days to collect their whole reasons together, and with one consent give them in subscrived with all their hands. The Bishop refused that, and therefor the King did the like, and desired that every minister should give in his own reasons, and, therefor, so many as had them written gave them in that day. Then the King said, "They should have a full resolution, in all the things they doubted of, upon Thursday nixt." At this time the Bishop penned a certain answer and resolution against the said day.

Upon Thursday thereafter, there conveened again thir four only, the minister of Linlithgow, the schoolmaster thereof, Mr Andrew Simson, and Mr Patrick, his son. Then the Bishop read his answers. They would have answered every head be themselves, but the King would not suffer, but would have them all read. When they were all read, they desired the copy of them that they might answer them, the which was refused; for the Bishop had no will they should come abroad. Then the King said, he would have no more reasoning of that matter, for seing he had used all lenity and gentleness before, and could not be the better therewith, now he assured them who would not subscrive, that they should not only lose their livings, but also be banished the country.

Page 236. WILLIAM AIRD'S CALLING.

This letter, with the conclusions and arguments before mentioned, sent home and going abroad, did much comfort the constant and crab the enemy. Two students of theology, for copying thereof and sending to the brethren, were fain to fly and come to Berwick, to Mr James Melvill, Mr James Robertson, a very good brother, after minister of Dundee, and Mr John Caldcleuch;

whom Mr James received gladly, and who after certain months abiding with him at Berwick, they past south to London: also one William Aird, an extraordinar witness, stirred up be God, who being a meason by craft till he was twenty years, and married, learned first of his wife to read English, and taken with delight of letters be himself studied the Latine, Greek, but specially the Hebrew language, so that he had his Bible as homelie to him in Hebrew, as any other language; the which being known to the Kirk, and the gifts that he had beside, both of knowledge and of utterance of divinity, he was made to leave his handy-craft, and take him wholly to attend upon the college, and exercise where he profited so there within few years, that he was called and placed in the ministry, at the kirk of Sanct Cuthbert's, under the Castle wall of Edinburgh; and became thereafter a notable man for uprightness, and great learning and reading, and his brother for just fear came away also, and aboad a space with Mr James in Berwick. The cause of his fear, was the apprehending of his fellow-labourer, a grave and godly brother, Mr Nicol Dalgleish, keeping of him in close prison, and putting him to an assise of earnest and deliberat purpose to have him execute as a traitour; only for the sight of a certain letter which came from Mr Walter Balcanquall to his wife; but the assise would not fyle him; wherat the Court was very crabbed. That worthy brother, and afterward ancient father in the Kirk, was very ill-handled, and stood wonderfull constant, as we shall hear hereafter.

Page 343, line 6, denouncing, *read* down-coming; line 16, *read* Sir William Waad, [or Wade.]

Page 344, line 21. Bishop Carleton's "Thankfull Remembrance," &c., was first printed in the year 1624; the fourth edition in 1630.

Page 349, line 2, and page 350, after line 17. Becaus that Secretar Maitland was deemed to be the author and penner of these Injunctiouns, there were sett out these verses following:

JUSTITIA LOQUITUR.

O Lord! looke doun, behold this piteous case,
Heere right is smoored, and falshood hath the place;
  Wrong is susteaned by wresting of the law,
Truth is untryed, which doeth me farre deface.
Who pleadeth, he must enter in the grace
  Of Matchiavell, ringleader of this raw.
  Chameleon's clan, alace that ever I saw!
With shadowed face though order he prescrive,
This House of myne he doeth alwayes deprive.

Page 351. KNOX'S HISTORY.

Vaultrollier the printer took with him a copy of Mr Knox his Historie to England, and printed twelve hundred of them. The Stationers, at the Archbishop's command, seased upon them the 18. of Februar [1585.] It was thought that he would get leave to proceed again; becaus the Counsel perceived that it would bring the Queen of Scots in detestation.—(*In the margin.*) This section is to be referred to February 1586, [1585-6.]

Page 391, line 5, *read* [James] Johnstone of Westerraw.

Pages 571 to 583. [The names of the several Presbyteries are occasionally mistaken or wrong printed; but it would serve no very useful purpose to point out some palpable mistakes, or to suggest corrections. It may be sufficient to refer the curious reader to the same list, as given with greater accuracy in the Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. ii. pages 664-684, printed for the Bannatyne Club.]

Pages 587, 588, 589, 596. John Bailard, *read* Ballard: 592, Arrandaill, *read* Arundell: 693, Padget, *read* Paget: 595, Charles Kilmey, *read* Charles Tilney.

Page 595. [Wodrow in the Fourth volume of his transcript, being the latter half of Calderwood's condensed Manuscript, inserts this note on the fly-leaf:

"This and the two following volumes appear to me to be Mr D. Calderwood's second and shorter draught. This volume begins originall vol. 4, p. 967, and with the two volumes following continues the originall to p. 2013, which ends the second draught: And the former three volumes are of the Author's first draught, from p. 1 to p. 1609."

Wodrow, in collating his transcript with the original, takes notice of several blank pages at the close of the year 1588, which ends with page 79, while 1589 begins with page 88; but he adds, "This jumps with the originall." He also notices other blanks in the original, from page 1042 to page 1050; and page 1063 to page 1068, and adds, "so nothing wanting here."]

Page 608. [In this account of Queen Mary's sentence and execution at Fotheringay (not Fotheringhame) Castle, in Northamptonshire, several of the names are inaccurately given. Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drewe Drury, (not Duric,) wardens of the Queen's person; Beale, Clerk of the Privy Council; and William Davison, Secretary of State. The Bishop of Peterborough, Richard Howlet. The Dean of Peterborough, Dr Richard Fletcher, the father of John Fletcher, the eminent dramatic poet.]

Page 609. [Some other names in this page, connected with the Queen's execution, have been mistaken: Mr Henry Talbot, (not Talbert,) a younger son of George, Earl of Shrewsbury; Sir Richard Knightley, (not Knight;) Mr Thomas Brudenell, (not Brodwell); Mr Robert Tyrrell, (not Tirro); Mr Robert and John Wingfield, (not Winkenfield); and Mr John Forster, (not Forrester). At line 17, Sir Andrew Melvill of Garvock is erroneously styled Robert.]

Pages 649 and 650, lines 19 and 20, *read* my Lord of Altrie [Ochiltree,]—the Laird of Lochbait, [Lochlevin.]

VOLUME FIFTH.

Page 5. [The blank space which Calderwood has left in his MS. for the proceedings of the General Assembly in February 1588-9, cannot now be supplied. A brief notice of the Grievances given in to the Assembly, is all that occurs in the Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. ii. p. 744.]

Page 58. [The blank pages, 1042 to 1050, left in the original for the proceedings of the General Assembly in June 1589, are but partially supplied by the notices contained in Petrie's History of the Catholick Church, p. 479, Hague, 1662, folio; and in the Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 745.]

Page 86, line 7, *read* the [3d] day of March [1589-90.]

Page 88. [The blank at the foot of this page, in the original, extends from page 1063 to 1068; and Wodrow in his transcript remarks, "so nothing wanting here,"—that is, nothing omitted by his transcriber.]

Page 156. [At this blank in the original MS., Wodrow in the margin of his transcript says, "Consider if what follows p. 450 may not come in here."—This is explained by his own note at page 445 of that MS., and there can be no doubt that he was right in his conjecture, that the following papers supply a defect in Calderwood's original Manuscript:—

"*There being a loose leaf found in the copie of which this was taken, and not finding what proper place to take in the samen, I have subjoined it hereto by itself, which is as followeth;*" and on the margin Wodrow adds, "*This and what followeth to* p. 450, *is now lost since the copying of the MS. in Gl*[*asgow*] *Library, and my Lord Poltoun sending me the originall.*"]

ACT OF TOWN COUNCIL OF EDINBURGH.

Ultimo Januarii 1587.

The which day, William Litle, Provest, the Bailiffs, Dean of Gild, Treasurer, and Counsell, for the most part, being conveened: forsameekle as the Generall Assemblie has found Mr Robert Bruce an apt and meet Minister for this Burgh, in place of Mr James Lawsone, and has given their consent thereto; as also that they with the Kirk and Session of this Burgh, and multitude of the Toun, have conceived a good opinion of him upon the proofe he has given of his sound doctrine: Therefor gives commission to John Arnot bailiff, John Johnstone, and William Smeatoun, to pass and conferr with him upon his remaining here, and upon his charges, and expences while the Toun and he further agree.

Extract furth of the Books of Counsell of the Burgh of Edinburgh, be Mr Alexander Gutherie, common clerk of the same.

AL. GUTHERIE.

THE KING'S LETTER TO MR ROBERT BRUCE.

To our Trustie, and well-beloved Mr Robert Bruce Minister of the Evangel of Edinburgh.

Trustie and well-beloved Counsellor, we greet you well: Ye know how earnestly we recommendit to your care the prosecution of this Platt, anent the sustentation of the Ministrie, at our last parting; and haveing such occasion, we cannot well omitt to remember yow of new thereof, as we have done the rest whom we have sollicited for that service; praying you right effectuously to keep such dayes, and place as we appointed to that errand; and spare no travell to let us find at our home-comeing that your occupation in that work has not been fruteless, it being a matter that we would willingly see through; and wherein ye will give us good

occasion to think us in good earnest addebted to your service, if be your means it may be brought to that perfection, which we intended, God willing, to have it at, before that we give order to our proper leaving: So, resting in this to your wonted care and diligence, We committ yow heartily to God's protection. From Upslaw, this second of December 1589.

JAMES R.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S LETTER TO MR ROBERT BRUCE.

To my most assured loveing Freind Mr Robert Bruce, Minister of Christ's Evangell at Edinburgh.

After my heartiest commendation, having the commodity of this Bearer, and being uncertain, when to have the like opportunity in respect of the difficulty of the passage, and season, I cannot ommitt to write to yow, not so meekle to impart to yow the progresse of our Voyage, our reception and procedour here, which ye will understand be this Bearer, and a number of others departed from this; but to bewail with yow what perrell and inconveniment I conceive may insue upon this suddent, and unadvised Voyage, interprised in an untimely Season be the advice, and suggestion of none, and foreknowledge of few (which if it had been imparted to me, as it was purposely concealed from me, least I should have crossed, or directly impedet it) I would indeed have opponed myself, and done my best indeavour to have diverted his Majestie therefra; laying before him such incidents, and perrells which his absence threatened, as I pray God of his mercie to avert: Yet God mercifully looked upon him, for no such perrells has as yet fallen out, specially by Sea, as that barbarous element, and unfitt season of the year does commonly produce: Our errand here, to witt his Hienes marriage, was immediatly after our arrivall happily accomplished, to the great appearend contentment of both the partys, which I wish at God to blesse and turn to his glorie, and weill and comfort of our miserable State. Our dyet and returning is as yet

uncertain, depending upon the resolution from Denmark, where our Queen had been transported ere now, if the King had not arrived, and all her ornaments, furniture, navey, and company, appointed for her conducting, were gone back long before our coming. When we shall resolve, I hope ourselves shall be the first warners, which I wish may be sone, and shall do well to be without burden to our countrie, which I am sorrie has been so far overcharged. In the mean while, I would be heartily glad the turn we had in hand for the provision of the Ministrie, may be as far advanced as possible; whereunto if I had remained in Scotland, I had dedicat the greatest part of my trobell this Winter. I have earnestly dealt with his Majestie, who has solemnly promised to hold hand to that work, and further it to his uttermost. He has written to the Clerk of Register, yourself, the Laird of Colluthie, and Parson of Menmure to travell in that matter, and doe what may be done in his absence; and of such as are here I have earnestly written to the Clerk of Register, and them, to this effect, beseeking them to travell earnestly, and diligently in that work, keeping secrete whatsomever may breed hatered or anoye which I have promised to take upon me, and to releave them of all burden thereof. At my returning, I shall, be God's grace, give effectuall demonstration, how earnestly I effect that work, as one of the things in the world I wish to see best, and most spedily performed, having the King's goodwill and promise, to see that turn effectuated, having layed out before him, beside the pleasure of God, his great honour, and advantage: Farther in all things I remitt to the nixt oppurtunity, and farther knowledge of that Estate, after my heartiest commendations to all our Brethren, wishing you heartily of God a perfect health, your heart's desire. From Upslaw, in Norrway, the first of December 1589.

Yours allwise as his oun.

JO. MATLANE.

[Sir John Maitland, Lord Thirlestane, was Lord Chancellor, from 1586 till his death in October 1595.]

The Earl of Bothwell's Letter to Mr David Black, Minister at St Andrews.

To my loveing Brother in Christ Mr David Black, Minister at S. Andrews, deliver these.

Right worshipfull and dearly Beloved Brethren in Christ, I am sorie that upon sinistrous information, I being innocent, you should in your Sacred places have detracted me who so far honours you, and who so far have suffered for your sakes; yet least ye should account me arrogant, I have thought good to clear the truth both of my Estate, and proceedings with the Papist Lords; which being considered, I then leave to your discretions either to continue as ye have begun, or to pitie me by keeping silence hereafter: My Estate then is this, one saikless, and but desert, save what in my own defence I have done, persewed by promise most rigerously be my Soveraigne, so that nothing can be able to satisfie him (or at least about him) but my most innocent blood, and extirpation of my poor Friends and Family (*blank in the MS.*) from England in whose (*blank in the MS.*) most I confided late commandement given me no more to return there, but upon my own perril; and also certified me, that hereafter they would use no further intreatie, nor supplication for my relief, neither yet by them any supplement to be given to my present wants (*blank*). Be your Nobility, Barrons, and Ministrie here, who were cautioners for his Majestie and wittnesses of his promises past unto me, no declaration of my received injurys, no intercession for my settling, yea not so much as wittnessing of what his Majestie promitted, neither amongst you all (though diverse I have found to say they love me, or pity my estate) can I find any that will or dare present my Supplication to his Majestie: what esperance this may breed me of relief from my endless misery, let you all judge: My Friends hanged, slain, and beggered; our Lands distributed, and possessed by our enemys; and I myself with them brought to such extremity, that we know not where to goe, not one hour suretie of our Lives, and if our Lives from

hostility might be saved, yet have no monies to fill our emptie bellies, yea within few days, if the Lord provide not better for us, will we scarcely have to cover our shamefullness, so if this extremity may suffer no longer lingering from embarking in some course for my releefe, let your Wisdomes consider: I am sorrie that nothing could satisfie your Wisdomes, unless my extremitys were known to the world, which appearantly shall rather serve for insulting to my enemys than bred me advantage; yet despair I not, since the Lord is strong enough, and that I know I am innocent, some days to render them as from them I have received, and to content you better than ye have or do expect at my hands.

This far of my Estate, which as the Lord lives is most true. Now concerning the Papist Lords, most true it is I met with Angus and Erroll, to whom never would I have refused speech in respect of our long friendship, which ever to this hour hath continued inviolable amongst us; but of late thir other extremitys made them join with Huntlie, yet not against me, but for their oun particulars. They then began to lay before my eyes there [their] and my sustained injurys, which evill advised Counsellours, about his Majestie have induced his Hieness to execute against us, craveing that I as one specially, yea more than they, interest would concurr to put in practise (since now the Estate was alike) the loveable practise of our progenitors at Lawder; whereinto I did most willingly assent, and answered that I found that course so lawfull and honest, that with whomsoever I would not refuse to concurr therein. It was then, be them replyed, that so great a matter could not be compassed but be an intire and brotherly conjunction of the Executors; which I granted was true. They then required that all matters questionable betwixt the Earle of Huntlie and me, might be removed, or at least assurance dureing the said service granted, and till the Bairn come to perfect age of 16. or 17. years old, at which time Huntlie should be bound at Ochiltrie's sight, and mine, to satisfie the party; or if not to licentiat us, to concurr and assist with our friend as of before, promiseing

farther, that if to this we would assent, they should (if so it would please her Majestie of England to accept) satisfie her Hienes by me in all she can desire, they on the other part receiving such security from her, as the weightiness of so dangerous a cause demerited; as also, where through the Ministrie should not have occasion to calumniat me, they were content presentlie to offer, and being peaceably settled, in their oun Estates, to perform whatsoever possibly they could for satisfaction of the Church, according to the Acts and constitutions of the same.

To which Propositions I answered, I was not yet resolved whether to accept yea or no; but that haveing advised with my Friends, betwixt this and the 10th or 14th of this Month, I should return them answere, and, as I have hoped, to their contentments.

This is all was spoken, and if any has either eeked or paired what here is sett doun, with deutifull respect of your Wisdomes, they most falsely belie me. I know it is spoken that I mett with Huntlie, who indeed was within two miles, that I should have received money for lifting of 5 or 600 horses, and that already I was lifting to that effect that I was bound—

[Wodrow here adds the following note: *I find what follows in a loose leafe in the Originall, where what is above, from* p. 455 [445], *is lost, and I have added it here as what seems to jump with what is above*:

——bound and conjoined with them in all their causes; and now I have uncovered my long and deep dissimulated Hypocrisie, and to become an open avowed Papist.

Wherethrough these impudent lees may the more visibly be seen, I am content to prorogat the answer which I should [have] gevin the tenth day till the 25th day of this instant, wherethrough ye may have leisure, if so it please you, to insist with his Majestie offering in my name whatever ze sall think convenient that possiblie with credit I may perform. And if all reason sall be refused, and none of my humble Offers accepted, most humblie then I beseech you to pardon me, and not to construe hardly my beha-

viour hereafter, since I protest to God my Creator, and to my Lord Jesus Christ my Redeemer, that embrace whatsoever course I will sall I never swerve from our faith professed here within this Realme, but faithfully and constantly abide therein to the uttermost, having ever a greater care to protect it than to save myself; and if I conjoyne with any opposites, it sall be as David did with the Philistines, and as diverse of your venerable society did with Maxwell, an open knowen Papist. I know it will be answered, that he was not excommunicat, yet I am assured ye will confess that my extremities now are greater than yours were then, for ye had sustentation, retreat, liberty and safetie in England, which all I want. So then it would appear, as my extremitie does surpasse yours, so my communication with the Excommunicants may be better born withall. Adding also this temporal argument, that it is hard to lose an heritable Earldome, specially having the blessing from God of children.

This far have I thought good to impart to your Wisdomes, which is the very simple truth, in declaring whereof, if any thing hath been done or spoken be me either rashly or undutifully, most humbly I crave pardon, offering to be censured, punished, and commanded be your godly Wisdomes as you shall think convenient. So my humble dutie remembred, and you all committed to the protection of the Eternal, expecting your answer and fatherly counsell, most humblie I take my leave. The 7. of September 1594.

Your loving Brother in Christ,

BOTHWELL.

Page 251, line 24. *The printed Discoverie.* This refers to the tract, in 1594, mentioned at page 199, which professes to have been "Printed and publisched at the speciall commaund of the Kingis Maiestie. At Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the Kingis Majestie." (no date.) 4to, 16 leaves, black letter.

Page 291, lines 12, 13, 23, *read* Lord Sough [Zouch].

Page 332, line 19. This blank, "of the said Erles * * in paper," may be thus supplied from the official summons of Treason: "Item, thai produce dyverse and sindrie seillis of the said Erllis, imprentit in paper, send with Mr George Ker to Spayne; to the effect utheris seillis micht be maid thair conforme to the samyn, to seill the saidis blankis, efter thai suld be fillit."

Pages 361, 560 and 720. Mr John Spotswood, now Bishop of St Andrews. [He was translated from Glasgow, in 1615, and died at London, 26th November 1639.]

Page 387. M.D.XCVI. [In the original MS. is this note: "This History followeth in another volume, which beginneth at the year 1596, and continueth till the death of King James the Sixth." In the margin of his transcript, p. 444, Wodrow adds, "The one volume originall is in the two following in this copy:" that is, Volumes fifth and sixth of his transcript correspond with the last volume of the original.]

Page 483, line 27, accompanying the Brother that day: (*In the margin*) M. J. B. [*i. e.* Mr James Balfour, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.]

Page 512, line 24. Two ministers, Mr Robert Bruce and * * to the King. [It appears from Scott of Cupar's Apologetical Narration, p. 83, that Bruce was the only minister requested to accompany the deputation to the King on the 17th December 1596.]

Page 520, line 20. William Mould, *read* William Auld.

Page 773. [A more accurate copy of this List of Subscribers to the Bond or Covenant at Aberdeen, in March 1592-3, is given in the Booke of the Kirk, vol. iii., p. 824-826, collated with a contemporary list preserved among Calderwood's papers, (Wodr. MSS. Fol. vol. xliii. no. 43,) in the Advocates' Library.]

VOLUME SIXTH.

Page 49, line 26, *read* [David Monypenny ?] Goodman of Pitmillie.

Page 264, line 26, *read* John Rough, minister at Nigg.

Page 269, line 28, *read* William [Keir?], Mr Robert Cornwall, &c.

Page 567, line 21, *read* Bishop Barto [Barlow] made a sermon, &c. [The Sermon here mentioned, "Concerning the Antiquitie and Superioritie of Bishops," as having been delivered, "from a copy bound in a small book like a New Testament," was printed as "The First of the Foure Sermons preached before the King's Majestie at Hampton Court, in September last: by William Lord Bishop of Rochester." Lond. 1607, 4to.

Page 571, line 17, *read* Doctor Buckrage [Buckeridge]—line 19, *read* Barlow. [The sermons of Dr Buckeridge, President of St John's College, Cambridge; Dr Andrews, Bishop of Chichester; and Dr King, Dean of Christ's Church, Oxford, preached at Hampton Court on this occasion, were also printed separately at London, 1608, 4to.]

Page 572, line 18. Lord Stennop. [Sir John Stanhope was raised to the Peerage, as Lord Stanhope of Harrington, 4th May 1605.]

Page 596. [The names of the English prelates here referred to, may be more accurately enumerated as follows :—

Dr Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester.

Dr John Jegon, Dean and Bishop of Norwich.

Dr Thomas Dove, Bishop of Peterborough.

Dr Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York.
Dr Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London.
Dr Thomas Ravis, Bishop of Gloucester, (not Salisbury, as stated by Calderwood.)
Dr William Barlow, Bishop of Rochester,—and
Dr William James, Bishop of Durham.]

Page 598, line 5, *read* Bishop Barlo [Barlow].

Page 599, line 3, *read* Lord Edgerston [Egerton.] [Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Chancellor of England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was created Baron Ellesmere, by King James, in 1603, and continued in his office as Lord Chancellor.]

Page 735, line 4. Doctor Abbots, &c. [Dr George Abbot was Dean of Winchester, and successively Bishop of Lichfield, and of London, and latterly Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr Anthony Higgins was Dean of Rippon. See note in Row's History, p. 248.]

Page 668. [After the paragraph relating to Balfour, Wodrow has interlined as follows: "In the originall here is insert what is on the margin, but its half crossed as here * *."—]

* * The G. Assembly prorogued.

In the beginning of July, there was a proclamation at Edinburgh, charging all the Synods to meet upon the 4th of August, continewing the General Assembly to October, and appointing two or three to be sent to Edinburgh, upon the 27th of August, from every Synod, to advise with the Bishops and Commissioners, how the next General Assembly should be keeped in peace and quietnes. But because the Parliament was to begin the 1st of August, the Synods wer prorogued to the 18th day of August."

Page 672, line 8. This reference to Nicolson having abjured

his title as Bishop is quite correct: In his Testament he simply styles himself, and he is so designated in the Confirmation, "Mr James Nicolson, Minister of the Evangell at Megill." He died on the 17th August 1607.

Page 681, line 29, *read* upon the seventh [seventeenth of October.

Page 745. [A much more accurate copy of these Latin verses is contained in "Andreæ Melvini Musæ," &c., 1620, 4to.]

Page 762, lines 7, 18, 24. * * Lord Sempill, *read* Robert Lord Sempill.

Page 768, line 19, *read* [Sir William] Livingstone of Kilsyth.

Page 780. [The two Judges here mentioned were Sir James Altham and Sir Edward Phillips, Justices Itinerant. Their proceedings against the Puritan preachers in the Circuit at Durham, about this time, are set forth in a letter, without date, from the Bishop of Durham to King James. (Orig. Letters, in the Advocates' Library, marked 31. 3. 12. no. 23.)]

VOLUME SEVENTH.

Pages 1, 2. [A somewhat more accurate version of these satirical verses on the Bishops, may be found in Row's History, Wodrow Society edit. p. 292, 294.]

Page 3, line 9. N. *read* Mr N. C. [that is, Mr Neill Campbell, Bishop of Argyle.]

Page 17, line 27, *read* Juglarie, juglarie, *fuit, est, et erit.*

Pages 90 and 95, line 2. Doctor Hudsone. [Dr Phineas Hodson, afterwards Chancellor of York.]

Page 150, line 6, and page 152, line 8. Doctor Abbots, Bishop of London. [See note in the former page 295.]

Page 151. [A comparison of these Latin verses, with the text as given in "Andreæ Melvini Musæ," &c. 1620, 4to, will point out some corrections.]

Page 153, line 4. My Lord of Kinlosse, Lord of the Rolls. [Edward Bruce, Commendator of Kinloss, was several times sent to England, by King James, on special missions. After the King's accession to the English throne, he was raised to the peerage, by the title of Lord Bruce of Kinloss, and appointed one of the Privy Council of England, and Master of Rolls. He died 14th January 1611.]

Page 160, line 13, 27, and page 163, line 13, Kirk of Creith, *read* Keith.

Page 161, line 20. Persone of Bothnse, *read* Rothes.

Page 163, line 26. Bakelvie sands, in the MS. Ballyalvie, (or Belhelvy.) [This event of Sir James Lawson of Humbie, having lost his life "by too rash riding in a place unknown," is recorded in some verses quoted from an unpublished Manuscript by Alexander Garden of Aberdeen, entitled "Scottish Worthies," in the Appendix to Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. p. 93. It occurred in a place near Aberdeen, "in a standing-lake, called the Old Watergang," in the year 1612. The similar catastrophe of sinking in the quicksands has been employed with great effect by Sir Walter Scott, in "The Bride of Lammermoor."]

Page 179, line 29. Mr Gilbert Powre, *read* Pourie.

Page 183, line 10. Sir James Sempill, Laird of Belvise, *read* Beltries; also page 450, *read* Beltries, *instead of* Beltrise.

Page 191. Easter Communion commencit, *read* commanded.

Page 192, line 20, and page 195, line 25, Dunmevege *read* Dunniveg.

Page 192, line 27. His chiefe the Laird of Ramfurtie, *read* Ranfurlie. [The Bishop of the Isles, Andrew Knox, was second son of Uchtred Knox of Ranfurlie, in Renfrewshire, whose descendants settled in Ireland, and were raised to the peerage. The Bishop was translated to the See of Raphoe, in Ireland, where he died, in 1622.]

Page 200, [A similar blank space is left in the MS., after line 8, as at page 197.]

Page 214, line 11, Wantstrade, *read* Wanstead.

Page 222, line 13. Mr Patrick Melome, *read* Melvine. [See the names of the Doctors Inaugurated, in this Appendix, *supra*, p. 95.]

Page 226, line 3. The Goodman of Burlie, *read* John Gordon of Buckie.

Page 244, line 34, *read* Ewine of Cookspow.

Page 245, line 22. May 26, *read* March 26, 1617.

Page 252, lines 11, 16; page 253, line 10; and page 259, line 13. Mr Peter Ewart, *read* Hewat.

Page 256, line 23, *read* John Cheisley; line 29, Robert Rough; line 27, William Scott, a minister in the north.

Page 270, line 14. The Laird of Corse, now Bishop of Aberdeen. [Patrick Forbes of Corse was admitted to that see in 1618, and died 28th March 1635.—In the edit. 1678, *now Bishop*, was changed by Calderwood to *after Bishop*.]

Page 296. [Patrick Forbes of Corse, entered into holy orders and became minister of Keith in Strathisla, in 1612, when forty-eight years of age. He accepted the Bishoprick of Aberdeen, March 24, 1618, and died, as stated in the preceding note, in 1635.]

Page 297, line 28. Sir George Hay, Clerk Register, now Chancellor. [At page 557, it will be seen that Hay was advanced to be Lord Chancellor of Scotland in July 1622. He was raised to the peerage, as Earl of Kinnoul, in May 1633, and died 16th December 1634.]

Page 307, line 22. Mr George Crier, *read* Grier.

Page 340, line 3. He (that is, the Bishop of Glasgow, not Knox) urged, &c.

Page 349, line 30. Mr Alexander Forsell, *read* Frissell (Fraser).

Page 350, line 18. They curse his memoriall, *read* his memorie.

Page 356, lines 26, 31. William Bigge, *read* Rigg.

Page 376, lines 4, 5, geminatio, *read* geniculatio.

Page 382, line 26; 383, line 9. Goat-house, *read* Gate-house.

Page 422, line 19, *read* requiritur concilium.

Page 424, lines 17, 22. Mr James Howie, *read* Home; and page 425, line 1. Mr David Howie, *read* Home.

Page 439, line 5. Riven, *read* Ruthven.

Page 443, line 17. Mr William Cranstoun, minister at Holkettle, *read* [King's Kettle, or Lathrisk]; and line 19, Circadie, *read* Kirkaldie.

Page 490, line 17, *read* Hamilton of Lettrick.

Page 551, line 11, ominosum, *read* odiosum.

Pages 556 and 557, *read* "Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos."

Page 608, line 6. John Smiler, *read* John Sinclair.

Page 630, line 11. Fosterseat [Alexander Hay of Fosterseat].

Page 630, lines 23, 30, 31. Doctor Eglesheim, [George Eglisham, M.D. He was author of several works besides his celebrated tract "The Fore-runner of Revenge," of which there were several impressions.]

[*From a printed Prospectus, in two leaves folio.*]

Edinburgh, July 12. 1754.

PROPOSALS

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* [On this point, see *supra*, page 5.]

Papers in this Manuscript, concerning Queen Mary's Trial and Execution, than can possibly be met with now in any other History; several secrets about the Spanish Invasion are laid open; a large and clear account is given of Gowrie's Conspiracy; and the conduct of James VI., from the time of his taking the government in his own hands, is, with great judgment and exactness, set in its full light.

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The Expence of publishing so large a Work, is the principal reason, no doubt, why it has never been put to the Press: It is hoped, therefore, that these Proposals will be favourably received by the Publick; and that the Undertakers of this chargeable Work

will meet with all suitable encouragement, since they are resolved to print the whole Manuscript upon the most reasonable terms possible, that the Learned, the Curious, and all Lovers of *true* History may no longer be deprived of such a valuable Performance.

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[A specimen page then follows in the Prospectus, containing the first portion of the remarks on King James's "Discourse," &c. concerning the Gowrye Conspiracy: This agrees exactly with the corresponding passage in Vol. VI., page 66 to 69, of the present edition.—Of this Prospectus the only known copy owes its preservation to the circumstance of the blank spaces having been employed by Dr James Grainger, author of the "Sugar Cane," and other poems, for writing the rough draughts of some of his verses, in a remarkably neat, small hand; and it came, with Grainger's other papers, into the possession of the late Dr Anderson, editor of the British Poets.]

A TABLE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES OF THE CHURCH, FROM 1560 TO 1618.

It is well known that the authentic Registers of the earlier General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, owing to most unaccountable negligence, were destroyed, in the conflagration of the Houses of Parliament in the year 1834. The use which Calderwood was enabled to make of these Registers, has imparted much additional value to his History, in having preserved very numerous extracts, not elsewhere recorded, of the proceedings of our Assemblies. Mr Alexander Petrie, minister of the Scots Congregation at Rotterdam, also incorporated a series of extracts in his "Compendious History of the Catholic Church, from the year 600 untill the year 1600, shewing her Deformation and Reformation," printed at the Hague, 1662, folio. In a more limited degree, Row's History, printed by the Wodrow Society, and Spottiswood's History, may likewise be referred to. The work quoted as the "Booke of the Universall Kirk," (the name given to a compilation made for practical purposes, by order of the Assembly, towards the close of the sixteenth century,) is, however, the most complete collection of the kind; and having been enlarged with extracts from Calderwood and other works, it was printed at the expense of the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, under this title:—"Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland, from the year M.D.LX. Collected from the most authentic Manuscripts." Edinburgh, 1839-1845, 3 vols. 4to.

The following comparative Table of references to these works, which contain the Acts of Assemblies, or notices of their proceedings, may not be without utility. For preparing this minute and very accurate Table, and attempting to rectify the mistakes and discrepancies in former lists, the Wodrow Society are indebted to Mr William Rowand, Assistant Librarian of the New College, Edinburgh.

A TABLE of the GENERAL ASSEMBLIES of the KIRK of SCOTLAND, from 1560 to 1618; shewing, in Parallel Columns, the corresponding pages of the Works containing the Acts and Proceedings of these Assemblies.

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ASSEMBLY.	Moderators.	Places.	Date.	Sessions.	Booke of the Universall Kirk.	Calderwood, Edit. 1678.	Calderwood, Wodr. Edit.	Petrie's History.	Row's History.	Spotiswood's Hist. Edit. 1655.
					Page	Page	Vol. II., Page	Page	Page	[No *notice* of any *General Assembly* till that of 1565, (page 190,) which is misplaced, under 1564.
1	———	Edinburgh.	Dec. 20. 1560.	3	3	29	44	222	13	
2	———	Edinburgh, In Tolbuith.	May 26. 1561,	3	8		126		14	
3	———	Edinburgh.	Dec. ...		11	30	159	230	14	
4	(JOHN KNOX, Minister of Edinburgh.)	Edinburgh,	June 29. 1562.	6	13	32	183	232	14	
5	(JOHN KNOX.)	Edinburgh, In Old Council-house.	Dec. 25. 1562.	5	25	32	205	233	24	
6	———	St Johnstoun.	June 25. 1563.	4	31	32	223	236	25	
7	JOHN WILLOCK, Superintendent.	Edinburgh, In New Tolbuith.	Dec. 25. ...	6	38	33	241	241	25	
8	JOHN WILLOCK.	Edinburgh, In Nether Tolbuith.	June 25. 1564.	6	46	34	250	338	25	
9	JOHN ERSKINE of Dun, Superintendent.	Edinburgh, In Over Tolbuith.	Dec. 25. ...	3	52	39	282	341	26	
10	JOHN WILLOCK.	Edinburgh,	June 25. 1565.	4	57	39	287	342	26	190

11	JOHN ERSKINE.	Edinburgh, In Over Tolbuith.	Dec. 25. ...	4	65	40	294	344	27	192
12	JOHN ERSKINE.	Edinburgh, In Council-house.	June 25. 1566.	2	77		321	347	29	196
13	JOHN ERSKINE.	Edinburgh, In Nether Council-house.	Dec. 25. ...	4	82	40	328	348	29	198
14	GEORGE BUCHANAN, Principal of St Leonard's Coll.	Edinburgh, In Nether Tolbuith.	June 25. 1567.	4	93	42	368	354	32	208
15	JOHN ROW, Minister of Perth.	Edinburgh, In Over Tolbuith.	July 21. ...	5	100		377	355	33	209
—	(A CONVENTION.)	Edinburgh.	Dec. 15. ...	3	111				35	
16	JOHN ROW.	Edinburgh, In Nether Tolbuith.	Dec. 25. ...	7	112	44	392	357	35	219
17	JOHN WILLOCK, Superintendent.	Edinburgh, In Nether Tolbuith.	July 1. 1568.	7	123	44	421	359	36	219
18	JOHN WILLOCK.	Edinburgh, In Nether Council-house.	Dec. 25. ...	1	132		470	360	38	
19	DAVID LINDSAY, Minister of Leith.	Edinburgh, In Over Tolbuith.	Feb. 25. ...	6	134		477	360	38	228
20	WM. CHRISTISON, Minister of Dundee.	Edinburgh, In Nether Council-house.	July 5. 1569.	5	141	45	490	362	40	
21	JOHN CRAIG, Minister of Edinburgh.	Edinburgh, In Tolbuith.	Mar. 1. 1569-70.	11	157	45	529	366	41	235
22	ROBERT PONT, Commissioner of Murray.	Edinburgh, In Nether Council-house.	July 5. 1570.	5	175	46	Vol. III. 1	368	42	241
23	GEORGE HAY, Commissioner of Caithness.	Edinburgh.	Mar. 5. 1570-1.	6	184	47	33	369	43	

ASSEMBLY.	Moderators.	Places.	Date.	Sessions.	Booke of the Univ. Kirk.	Calderwood, Edit. 1678.	Calderwood, Wodr. Edit.	Petrie's History.	Row's History.	Spotiswood, Edit. 1655.
					Page	Page	Vol. III. Page	Page	Page	
24	GILBERT GARDEN, Min. of Fordyce, [Monifeith.]	Stirling.	August 6. 1571.	4	198	48	132	370	44	257
—	(A CONVENTION.)	Leith.	Jan. 12. 1571-2.	6	203	49	168	372	45	259
25	ROBERT HAMILTON, Minister of St Andrews.	St Andrews, In St Leonard's School.	March 6. ...	4	237	56	208	375	45	
26	JOHN ERSKINE of Dun, Knight.	Perth, In the Tolbuith,	August 6. 1572.	3	243	57	219	376	45	260
27	DAVID FERGUSSON Minister of Dunfermline.	Edinburgh, In Council-house.	Mar. 6. 1572-3.	7	255	61	272	378	46	
28	ALEX. ARBUTHNOT, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen.	Edinburgh, In Tolbuith.	August 6. 1573.	8	269	63	287	379	48	
29	ANDREW HAY, Minister of Renfrew.	Edinburgh, In Nether Tolbuith.	Mar. 6. 1573-4.	7	286	64	302	381	48	271
30	JOHN DUNCANSON, Minister of Stirling.	Edinburgh, In Upper Tolbuith.	August 7. 1574.	10	299	66	330	384	49	
31	JAMES BOYD, Bishop of Glasgow.	Edinburgh, In Council-house.	Mar. 7. 1574-5.	11	314	67	339	384	50	
32	ROBERT PONT, Provost of Trinity College Church, Edinburgh.	Edinburgh, In Over Tolbuith.	August 6. 1575.	7	331	68	347	385	55	275
33	JOHN ROW, Minister of Perth.	Edinburgh, In Over Tolbuith.	April 24. 1576.	7	348	70	358	387	57	277
34	JOHN CRAIG. Minister of Aberdeen.	Edinburgh.	Oct. 21. ...	8	364	74	369	388	57	302

35	Alex. Arbuthnot.	Edinburgh, In Council-house.	April 1. 1577.	10	383	76	378	390	59	
36	David Lindsay.	Edinburgh, In Laigh Tolbuith.	Oct. 25. ...	13	392	79	385	392	60	289
37	Andrew Melvill, Principal of Coll. Glasgow.	Edinburgh, In Magdalene Chapel.	April 24. 1578.	10	403	80	398	393	61	
38	John Row, Minister of Perth.	Stirling.	June 11. ...	4	412	82	410	395	63	284
39	David Fergusson, Minister of Dunfermline.	Edinburgh, In Nether Council-house.	Oct. 24. ...	8	418	83	426	396	64	302
40	Thomas Smeton, Minister of Paisley.	Edinburgh, In the New Kirk.	July 7. 1579.	10	427	85	443	398	66	
41	James Lawson, Minister of Edinburgh.	Dundee.	July 12. 1580.	10	449	89	463	402	68	311
42	Andrew Hay.	Edinburgh, In Over Tolbuith.	Oct. 20. ...	13	463	92	473	405	80	315
43	Robert Pont.	Glasgow.	April 24. 1581.	10	473	97	515	407	81	317
44	John Craig.	Edinburgh.	Oct. 17. ...	23	522	118	576	411	87	316
45	Andrew Melvill, Principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews.	St Andrews, New College Schools.	April 24. 1582.	14	548	121	598	418	90	318
46	Andrew Melvill.	Edinburgh, In New Kirk.	June 27. ...	7	576	126	622	427	95	318
47	David Lindsay.	Ditto.	Oct. 9. ...	20	535	133	675	431	98	322
48	Thomas Smeton.	Ditto.	April 24. 1583.	13	612	138	705	436	102	
49	Robert Pont.	Ditto.	Oct. 10. ...	16	626	141	731	436	103	327
50	———	St Andrews.	April 24. 1584.			151	Vol. IV. 37	[So also in *Melville's Diary*, 8vo, p. 166.]		

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					Page	Page	Vol. IV. Page	Page	Page	
51	David Lindsay.	Edinburgh, In Over Tolbooth, and Chapel Royal.	May 10. 1586.	18	645	205	546	448	108	344
52	Andrew Melvill.	Edinburgh, In New Kirk.	June 20. 1587.	18	605	214	615	456	131	364
53	Robert Bruce, Minister of Edinburgh.	Edinburgh.	Feb. 6. ...	16	703	219	649	473	135	306
54	Thomas Buchanan.	Edinburgh.	Aug. 6. 1588.	14	729	226	682	477	137	
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—	(A Convention.) Andrew Melvill.	Edinburgh.	Jan. 1588-9.		740	227	1			
55	Robert Bruce.	Edinburgh.	Feb. 6. 1588-9.	16	744		5	473	135	
56	James Melvill, Minister of Anstruther.	Edinburgh.	June 17. 1589.		745		58	479	139	376
57	———	Edinburgh.	Mar. 3. 1589-90.	9	747	254	86			
58	Patrick Galloway, Minister of Perth.	Edinburgh.	Aug. 4. 1590.	17	762	255	100	481	139	382
59	Nicoll Dalgleish, Minister of St Cuthberts.	Edinburgh, In New Kirk.	July 2. 1591.	17	779	265	133	485	141	384
60	Robert Bruce.	Edinburgh.	May 22. 1592.	23	786	267	156	488	145	
61	David Lindsay.	Dundee.	April 24. 1593.	9	795	284	240	494	150	393
62	Andrew Melvill.	Edinburgh.	May 7. 1594.	18	819	299	307	496	154	403
63	James Nicolson, Minister of Meigle.	Montrose.	June 24. 1595.	9	846	307	367	508	166	409

64	Robert Pont.	Edinburgh, In New (or East) Kirk.	Mar. 22. 1595-6.	13	857	312	394	510	168	415
65	David Lindsay.	Perth.	Mar. 1. 1596-7.	7	889	393	606	530	175	438
66	(Robert Pont.)	St Andrews, In New College School.	April 27. 1597.	1	912	402	626			
67	Robert Rollock, Principal of the College of Edinburgh.	Dundee, In the Little Kirk.	May 10. ...	10	913	402	628	536	181	443
68	Peter Blackburn, Minister of Aberdeen.	Dundee.	Mar. 7. 1597-8.	13	934	415	682	543	188	449
69	Robert Wilkie, Principal of St Leonard's College, St Andrews.	Montrose.	Mar. 18. 1600.	8	949	435	Vol. VI. 1	550	198	456
70	John Hall, Minister of Edinburgh.	Burntisland.	May 12. 1601.	5	963	446	105	556	205	463
71	Patrick Galloway.	Edinburgh, In the Chapel Royal.	Nov. 10. 1602.	7	974	459	160	561	209	467
72	———	Aberdeen, In St Nicholas' Church.	July 31. 1604.	1	1009	482	264	566	224	486
73	John Forbes, Minister of Alford.	Aberdeen.	July 2. 1605.	1	1013	492	279	570	227	487
74	James Nicolson.	Linlithgow.	Dec. 10. 1606.	3	1022	550	604	Petrie's History ends with 1605.	238	500
75	James Law, Bishop of Orkney.	Linlithgow.	July 26. 1608.	8	1046	589	751		249	505
76	John Spottiswood, Archbishop of Glasgow.	Glasgow.	June 8. 1610.	5	1085	623	Vol. VII. 104		273	512
77	John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St Andrews.	Aberdeen.	Aug. 13. 1616.	6	1116	656	222		306	528
78	John Spottiswood.	St Andrews.	Nov. 25. 1617.		1140	689	284		313	534
79	John Spottiswood.	Perth.	Aug. 25. 1618.	2	1143	697	304		315	537

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LIFE

OF

DAVID CALDERWOOD,

BY

THE REV. THOMAS THOMSON,

F.S.A., *Scot.*

LIFE

OF

DAVID CALDERWOOD.

ALTHOUGH the name of Calderwood occupies no particular place in Scottish annals before the period of our Ecclesiastical Historian, yet the family to which he belonged appears to have been of some antiquity and importance; the first mention of it occurring in the Ragman Roll, where, among other Scottish barons, the Calderwood of the day subscribed his allegiance to Edward I. of England. Like many other surnames of ancient families in Scotland, it seems to have originated in the locality where it first took root and flourished, being derived from the barony and manor of Calderwood, and the villages of Great and Little Calderwood, situated upon the banks of the Calder, a tributary river that flows into the Clyde at Bothwell Castle.

It is to be regretted that so little has been handed down to us of the personal record of the historian. All that have survived for the purposes of biography, are merely a few incidental hints, in the accounts furnished by his cotemporaries of the public events of the day, combined with brief notices in his own historical work, of measures in which he was personally involved, and where the mention of himself was inevitable. There are few authors, indeed, who have written so much, of whose individual doings so little can be ascertained.

It appears from Baillie's Letters, that David Calderwood was born about the year 1575; the particular place of his birth, how-

ever, is unknown. Like many of the sons of the Scottish gentry, who were his cotemporaries, he was probably destined by his parents, at an early period, for the Church, and, with this view, had been sent to the University of Edinburgh while still very young. He there prosecuted his literary studies, and obtained the degree of A. M. when he had reached his eighteenth year. Of the depth and breadth of the foundation he must have laid in literature, theology, and dialectics, there is abundant evidence in his numerous theological and controversial writings both in English and Latin. Letters, indeed, from their recent introduction into Scotland, were cultivated with all the ardour of a first love; while the example of Buchanan, and, still more, the professional labours of Andrew Melville, had raised the standard of excellence to such a height, as was sure to produce ripe and accomplished scholars. Calderwood, therefore, was one of a host of learned Scottish students raised up for the conflicts and emergencies of the second Reformation of our country,—men eminently fitted by classical, logical, and patristic scholarship, to maintain the great ecclesiastical controversy of their day, and whose equals, in these departments, we may search for in vain among the generations of their successors. It is probable, that during the interval between his graduating, and entering upon the work of the ministry, Calderwood regented, and taught lessons in some branch of literature or art, as was common at the time among candidates for the sacred office. About the year 1604 he was appointed to the pastoral charge of the parish of Crailing, in the neighbourhood of Jedburgh.

It was not long, however, that the minister was to remain undisturbed in this peaceful seclusion, and amidst his apostolic duties. King James was slowly, but steadily, prosecuting his insidious measures for the establishment of Prelacy in Scotland; and to further this object, the bishops were enjoined to make an Episcopal visitation through their respective dioceses. The purpose, as it was announced, was the spiritual welfare of the several parishes and districts; but the real one was, that the bishops

might procure such Commissioners to be appointed to the ensuing General Assembly as would be most compliant to the royal will. The proceedings of these hierarchs, during their lordly tour, were in complete harmony with the real purposes of their mission; for where the arts of persuasion and cajolery failed, they attempted to frighten the Presbyteries into submission with threats of the King's displeasure. In the course of these visitations, Law, bishop of Orkney, arrived at Jedburgh in 1608. He ordered a meeting of the Presbytery to be held on the second and third days of May; and knowing the temper of some of its members, he announced to them, that if any repined at his visitation, he would not scruple to use the power of the temporal, as well as the spiritual sword. To this Hildebrand-like menace the Presbytery vouchsafed no answer; upon which the Bishop, wroth at their silence, threatened to put them to the horn if they failed to assemble at the time prescribed. Law, indeed, had good cause for urgency, as the Commissioners appointed for the Assembly were George Johnston, minister of Ancrum, and David Calderwood, both of whom protested against the Bishop's authority, and subscribed a declinature to that effect. When the time of the meeting of Presbytery arrived, the Bishop despatched the spiritual part of his visitation in two hours. He then addressed himself to its temporalities. Having gained over Dr Abernethy, minister of Jedburgh, who at first had supported the two Protesters, and having obtained a party in the Presbytery, Law set aside the former election by appointing other Commissioners more likely to be subservient to the King's pleasure; and in order to exclude Calderwood and Johnston both from the Presbytery and the Assembly, he put them to the horn the same night.

As Prelacy was to be established in Scotland by such violent and unjustifiable measures, deeds of a similar character were necessary for its maintenance. The timid were awed by threats, the ambitious lured by promises of promotion, and the bold silenced by suspension, fine, or imprisonment. The power of English gold was also brought fully to bear upon Scottish want and

avarice, and the sum of forty thousand merks adroitly distributed by the Earl of Dunbar, had purchased the votes of many a poverty-stricken Presbyter. But arguments more forcible still were necessary to subdue the Presbyterianism of Scotland, and, therefore, the Court of High Commission was established in 1610. This unconstitutional junto, which was set up by the mere will of sovereign authority, without the consent of either Church or Parliament, although it possessed an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and inflicted civil pains and penalties, had been introduced into England by Elizabeth; and under the first of the two Stuarts it afterwards acquired a most unenviable notoriety, which ended in its ruin. As it had been so effective in suppressing the Puritanism of England, it was hoped that it would be equally successful against the kindred Presbyterianism of the north, and, accordingly, its establishment in Scotland was proclaimed at Edinburgh in all due form. The avowed object in the establishment of this new and alarming tribunal among the Scots, was "the suppression of Atheism, Popery, Heresy, and all sorts of vice and scandalous living;" but under these wide terms, it was easy to comprehend every idea distasteful to a sycophant court, as well as every luckless individual who either withstood innovations in the Church or the progress of despotism in the civil government. By this proclamation, also, the Archbishop of St Andrews or Glasgow, and any four members sitting with him, might summon before them any offender in life and doctrine, and, on finding him guilty, might command the minister of the parish to excommunicate him; and if the minister hesitated, or delayed to execute the sentence, he also was to be punished by suspension, deprivation, or imprisonment, according to their pleasure. They were empowered, moreover, to fine and imprison all such persons as might be convicted at their tribunal, one-half of the fine to belong to the King, and the other to the court, for defraying its expenses, while those who refused to compear when cited, were to be summarily dealt with as traitors. A particular specification was also made of those characters against whom the proclamation was mainly levelled;

viz., "Any minister, preacher, or teacher of schools, colleges, or universities, or of exhorting or lecturing readers within these bounds, whose speeches in public have been impertinent, and against the established order of the Kirk, or against any of the conclusions of the by-past General Assemblies; or in favour of any of those who are banished, warded, or confined for their contemptuous offences." Here, indeed, lay the venom of the sting! It was evident that a party in the Church was to be crushed by legal pains and penalties, and that the royal power, acting through this court, which was chiefly composed of lords, and bishops dependent on royal favour, should acquire an absolute despotism, not only over the bodies and goods, but also over the creed and worship of the nation. And it was equally evident, that while the Scottish Church was thus to be crushed, the prelatic office was thereby to become paramount;—for although temporal lords were joined in the commission with bishops, they seldom attended, having neither taste for the investigation of theological offences, nor inclination to sit upon the same tribunal with crestless and upstart ecclesiastics.

And thus, possessing bishops exalted into irresponsible judges, and a court whose sentences he could influence at pleasure, the King naturally concluded that, through their aid, such a General Assembly could be formed as would sanction his further measures without scruple. An Assembly was accordingly summoned in 1610, with charges from the King and the Bishops,—charges in this case amounting to absolute commands,—to make choice of the wisest, most discreet, and most peaceably disposed ministers for Commissioners; and that the Presbyteries might fall into no mistake respecting the real possessors of such choice qualities, a list was sent of those persons whom the King esteemed as wise, discreet and peaceable, and, therefore, desired to have elected. From a General Assembly so composed, with Archbishop Spottiswood for its moderator, the nature of its proceedings might be easily anticipated. A shew of deference indeed was artfully held out by the Prelates to the leading principle of Presbyterian polity;

for they recognised the supremacy of the General Assembly in the trial and deposition of bishops. But the measures which followed, unequivocally evinced that all this concession was a mere play of words. A series of resolutions was past, by which the independence of General Assemblies was bound hand and foot, and surrendered to the King, for he was empowered to convoke, control and dismiss them at pleasure,—while the Bishops were appointed perpetual moderators of the inferior Church courts, and invested with the sole right of visitation, the power of admitting to the ministry, filling up the vacant livings, and exacting an oath of obedience and submission from every candidate for holy orders. And these were the men who were likely to submit to the authority and succumb to the penalties of a real General Assembly! All these resolutions were passed with little discussion, for every attempt at remonstrance was rudely silenced; and when the compliant ministers returned to their parishes, they were liberally supplied with money, under the pretext of defraying their travelling expenses. But even yet, faithful pastors were not wanting throughout the land, who condemned this Assembly as unconstitutional, and its enactments as unjust and illegal; upon which a royal proclamation was issued, commanding all his Majesty's subjects to yield obedience to these resolutions, and prohibiting all ministers and lecturers to disallow or gainsay them in any point, under the highest peril; while all sheriffs, stewards, and magistrates were commanded instantly to apprehend the preacher so offending, that he might abide the punishment of the Lords of the Commission. Having thus so nearly assimilated the state of the Scottish Prelates to that of the English, another step in advance was made, by a royal requisition, in which the former were commanded to receive Episcopal ordination at the hands of their brethren of England. Even to this token of inferiority and vassalage the Scottish bishops submitted. Spottiswood and two of his coadjutors repaired to London in obedience to the summons, and on the 21st of October received the seal of veritable apostolic succession from the Bishops of Bath, Wells, and Ely.

During these important movements so subversive of the liberties of the Scottish Church, and when it so urgently needed a fearless champion, we need scarcely ask what had become of Calderwood. We have already mentioned the sentence by which he was excluded from Church courts, and confined within the limits of his own parish. But although he could not make his voice be heard in the discussion, we may conjecture, from the temper and character of the man, that he did not sit silent within his manse, or withhold his opinions on the subject from his friends and parishioners. We may be also certain that his books were often ransacked for arguments with which to combat these perilous innovations. His time, however, at length arrived;—and he stepped from his retirement, with a mind fully armed for the controversy, and a heart prepared to suffer for its sake.

About the end of January 1617, James sent down to the council at Edinburgh an intimation of his purpose to pay a royal visit to Scotland. He had now been absent fourteen years, and plausibly enough, he alleged his "salmon-like affection" towards his old kingdom and birth-place, as the cause of this intended journey. It may be, indeed, that such a feeling existed in a heart not very susceptible of grateful emotions; but the prime motive, as was afterwards shown by events, was the thorough and complete establishment of Episcopacy. The Bishops had represented in such unctuous terms the success of their apostolic labours, and the rapidity with which Scotland was in the process of conversion from Presbyterianism, that the King was persuaded he had only to appear, in order to be recognised as paramount both in church and state. Preparations were busily made in the northern capital to honour the royal advent; and, among these, the chapel of the palace of Holyrood was furnished with organs, choristers, and other circumstances of Episcopal pomp and splendour. Such arrangements were beheld with indignation; but when images made of timber, and bedizzened with paint and gold-leaf, representing the twelve apostles and the four evangelists, were about to be set up in the long-deserted niches, the popular feeling could be silent no longer.

"The organs came first, the images succeed, and we shall soon have the mass itself!" Such was the outcry which made the Bishops pause; they saw that the experiment had gone too far, and the obnoxious puppets were removed. The King grievously complained of this popular dislike, declaring that the figures of dragons, devils, and other grotesques, were tolerated in sacred buildings, while those of the apostles were excluded; but the royal murmurer must have forgot, that these dragons and grinning visages were only eccentricities of architecture to be stared at, not religious symbols to be worshipped. On the 16th of May the King arrived at Edinburgh, and, on the following Saturday, organs and choristers astonished the long-silenced echoes of the chapel royal, and surplices flaunted before the scowling eyes of the Presbyterians; while the Scottish nobility who waited upon his Majesty during divine service, were obliged to receive the communion with him upon their knees, according to the English form. This was not enough; for the rest of the Scottish nobles, at that time assembled in Edinburgh to pay their respects to their sovereign, were required to yield the same conformity—a mandate, however, which most of them had the hardihood to refuse.

While the clouds were thus gathering over the northern firmament, the Scottish Parliament assembled on the 17th of June. Thither many of the members repaired with sour and discontented looks, for the nobles especially were indignant that the selection of the Lords of the Articles, instead of being a constitutional and open measure, should have been engrossed by the King and his bishops. These stout magnates could not comprehend the universal submission with which their King had been pampered in England; and having been accustomed, from law or the usage of the land, to have a voice nearly as potential as that of royalty in all national deliberations, they were not prepared for that despotism of the Tudors into which their sovereign, formerly little more than their equal, had been so comfortably established. A new world had commenced which they could not understand.

But with the clergy of Scotland matters were still worse. During the sittings of Parliament, in which his Majesty had particularly recommended a careful attention to the interests of the Church, the Scottish ministers frequently assembled in that part of the cathedral of St Giles called the Little Kirk, where one or more of the Bishops was always present to superintend and overrule their deliberations. At these meetings, however, the discussions, instead of turning upon the gross violations of order and discipline now in progress, were wholly devoted to the "tables of the money-changers,"—to questions touching augmentation of stipends and provision for ministers. Some of the more disinterested country ministers also, who had taken the alarm, and were prepared to make a vigorous resistance to prelatic ascendancy, had been juggled out of Edinburgh by a very unworthy stratagem. They were solemnly assured that no act was to be passed in Parliament in any way prejudicial to the Church, and, on the faith of this assurance, the honest men had departed to their homes. There was one present, however, who was not to be so hoodwinked. This was David Calderwood, who, although he was prevented by reason of his sentence in 1608 from sitting in Church courts, had yet repaired to Edinburgh while the Church was thus in danger, and was now a watchful visitor of these ecclesiastical meetings. He went to the Little Kirk to ascertain the nature of their proceedings, and on hearing Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles, making mention of the English Convocation, he rose up and protested against this meeting being considered either as equivalent to a Presbyterian General Assembly, or yet an Episcopal Convocation, the laws of which were binding upon their respective churches; and afterwards sharply admonished the members present to attend to weightier matters than the mere augmentation of stipends. They endeavoured to sooth this formidable visitor with assurances that no such discussions as he recommended were needed, seeing the Bishops had pledged themselves that no innovations were to be attempted; but to this he sarcastically answered, that the Bishops for these sixteen years past had given

proof of their fidelity in promise-keeping. The two Prelates who presided over this meeting, after an ineffectual attempt to reassure him, returned to their beloved theme of Church temporalities and augmentations; upon which Calderwood rising to depart, and glancing over their splendid ecclesiastical vestments, exclaimed, "It is an absurd thing to see men sitting in silks and satins, and crying 'Poverty! poverty!' while in the meantime *purity* is departing."

The Prelates seemed to feel that this opposition boded no good to their cause, and therefore, on the next morning, the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow repaired to the place of meeting, and there solemnly protested, that so far were any innovations from being intended, that they were contented otherwise to be hanged at the Market Cross. The opposition, accordingly, and not the Prelates, was suspended for the present. But on the very day after, this pledge was forfeited, by a decree passed by the Lords of the Articles, which implicated the utmost of innovation. It was, that the "King, with advice of the archbishops, bishops, and such a number of the ministers as he should think fit, should, in all time coming, have full power to advise and conclude matters decent for the external policy of the Kirk, not repugnant to the word of God, and that such conclusions should have the strength and power of ecclesiastical laws." Against this decree the faithful ministers still left in Edinburgh determined to protest in open Parliament; and, accordingly, a meeting was held in the Music School, for the purpose of drawing up a protestation in due form. That which was at first preferred was objected to by Calderwood, as not sufficiently stringent for the emergency, upon which he was appointed, in conjunction with another minister, to revise and correct it. This was done; and now, the question to be settled was, as to the manner of signature. It was agreed that Archibald Simson, minister of Dalkeith, as their clerk, should sign the petition in name of the rest, and have their subscriptions in a separate roll in keeping for his

warrant. But Patrick Galloway, the royal chaplain, a court parasite and false brother, revealed the whole affair the same night when he went home, in consequence of which, Mr Peter Ewart, author of the original draught, was asked next day by the Archbishop of St Andrews for a sight of the petition. But when the Primate read the preamble, which merely announced a meeting of ministers, without mention of any bishop, he angrily tore the paper, declared that the Presbyters were malapert for presuming to meet without the presence of a bishop to preside over them, and threatened that he would make the best of them wear a surplice for their contumacy. Another copy, which had been preserved in case of accident, was presented to his Majesty by Mr Archibald Simson; but the King would not allow it to be read. After the Parliament had been dissolved, Simson was summoned before the High Commission, and sent to prison, for delivering the protest and withholding the list of subscribers. It was soon found, however, that this list had been entrusted to Calderwood's keeping; upon which the minister of Crailing, who had returned to his charge, was summoned by the Archbishops to return and appear before the High Commission at St Andrews on the 8th of July, there to answer as a "mutinous and seditious person, unworthy to bear office or function in the Kirk," on account of having subscribed such a protest, and for retaining the list of signatures in his possession. Ewart and Simson were also involved in the charge, as the original author and presenter, and cited to appear with Calderwood. The meeting of Commission, on account of the King's absence, was postponed till the 12th, that the culprits might have the full benefit of the royal countenance, whether to condemn or absolve.

On that day, the King having whetted his intellects by presiding at a public disputation in the church of St Andrews, upon certain theses respecting the kingly power, repaired in the afternoon to the Court of Commission. He soon indicated the spirit in which its members were to act, by the following spiteful observations:—"We took this order with the Puritans of England:—

they stood out as long as they were deprived only of their benefices, because they preached still on, and lived upon the benevolence of the people affecting their cause. But when we deprived them of their office, many yielded to us, and are now become the best men we have. Let us take the like course with the Puritans here." In consequence of this advice matters proceeded roundly; for Ewart and Simson were not only deprived but warded, the former in Dundee, and the latter in Aberdeen. It was now Calderwood's turn, and he was brought to the bar. In answer to the charge libelled against him, he stated, that when Mr Simson was warded in the Castle of Edinburgh for not giving up the roll, he had repaired thither and returned it to the prisoner, so that he was now unable to produce it. He was then posed by the King upon the other point of offence—of having assisted at "that mutinous meeting;"—to which Calderwood replied with spirit, "Sir, when that meeting shall be condemned as mutinous, then it is time for me to answer for my particular assistance." This boldness startled several of the members, who crowded round him, and whispered that he had better submit to the King's will; to which he firmly answered, that what he had done was not done rashly, but with deliberation.

The moment of combat having thus arrived, James descended into the lists in his favourite character of a theological champion. His challenge was, "what moved you to protest?" "An article concluded among the Lords of Articles," said Calderwood. After giving a summary statement of its contents, he was sharply asked by the King, what fault he found in it? to which he answered, that it abrogated the authority of the General Assembly. When his Majesty ascertained on further enquiry that Calderwood had been only twelve years in the ministry, he said, "Indeed, when I went out of Scotland, ye were not a minister; I heard no din of you till now. But hear me, Mr Calderwood, I have been an older keeper of General Assemblies than you,"—and, upon the strength of this experience, he proceeded to expound to the minister the uses and rights of General Assemblies, which he reduced within

a sufficiently narrow compass. The other entered into the contest with alacrity, and vindicated the ecclesiastical liberties of these courts, not only in doctrine, but also in church forms and discipline. The King thus encountered, saw fit to change his ground. Holding the copy of the protestation in his hand, he challenged Calderwood for the last clause in it, which announced the resolution of the petitioners, to endure the utmost rather than submit to the proposed innovations. The minister answered, that they meant they would give passive obedience to his Majesty, but not active obedience to the new article. "Active and passive obedience?" said the King doubtfully. "That is, we will rather suffer than practise, sir," replied Calderwood. "I will tell thee, man," cried the King, again waxing disputatious, "what is obedience: the centurion when he said to his servants, to this man, go, and he goeth, to that man, come, and he cometh—that is obedience." "To suffer, sir, is also obedience," was the firm and modest reply.

Some of the members having grown weary of such a discussion, or, fearing, perhaps, that their royal master might have the worst of it, again gathered round Calderwood, and whispered their advice of entire submission, but with no better success than before. He could not perceive, and therefore would not acknowledge, that he had committed any thing worthy of blame. The King also finding that threats were useless, had recourse to gentler measures. "Well, Mr Calderwood," he said, "I will let you see that I am gracious and favourable. That meeting shall be condemned before ye be condemned; all that are in the roll shall be filed ere ye be filed. Howbeit ye be not last in the roll, I shall make you last, providing ye will conform." Calderwood pleaded, that having already answered the charges brought against him he ought to be urged no farther; upon which the King taunted him as a refractory person, who attended neither Presbyteries nor Synods, and would in no way conform. To this charge the minister opposed the unanswerable argument of his having been suspended from attendance on Church courts for some eight or nine years,

so that he had enjoyed no opportunity of showing either his obedience or the contrary. "Good faith! thou art a very knave," exclaimed the courteous Monarch; and turning to the bystanders, he added sneeringly, "see these same false Puritans! they are ever playing with equivocations." The Bishop of Glasgow seemed to be of the same opinion, for he triumphantly demanded of the Presbyter, "If ye was confined, how was ye at the meeting at the Song School?" To this, Calderwood answered, "Since I was confined, I obtained a liberty, with exception of Presbyteries and Synods: that was neither a Presbytery nor a Synod." Here the Archbishop took up the argument, and endeavoured to show how the minister of Crailing might have got himself relaxed had he wished it; upon which the King asked the latter whether, if he were relaxed, he would obey or not? Calderwood replied, that he would either obey, or give a reason for his refusal—which the King tauntingly rejoined, was "active or passive obedience."

The minister was then removed for a short space, during which the court deliberated upon the conditions to be proposed to him; and after they had come to a conclusion, he was recalled to their bar. It was intimated to him that he was relaxed from his former sentence, and that now he had full permission to attend Presbyteries and Synods, but, at the same time, that sentence of suspension from the ministry till the ensuing October had been pronounced against him, and that the Archbishop of Glasgow was ordained to deprive him, if he failed to attend the Synod within that period, and promised conformity. "Now," said the King, with that coarse wit in which it was his usual pleasure to indulge,—"ye have time to advise whether ye will conform or not: ye need not take pains to study a text against Sunday for the people." Calderwood, in reply, quoted the King's own words that day in the public disputation, in which he had disclaimed the power of ecclesiastical deprivation, and, consequently, that of suspension, which was a step towards it, both being ecclesiastical censures. "It was not I, man, that pronounced the sentence," said the King: "I would have removed, but they would not let me: it was the

Bishop of St Andrews that pronounced the sentence." "Then," said the other, "please your Majesty, let me speak to them,"—and turning to the Primate and the Bishops, who were ranged upon the right of the King, he thus addressed them:—"Neither can ye suspend or deprive me in this court of High Commission, for ye have no farther power in this court than by commission from his Majesty: his Majesty cannot communicate that power which he claimeth not to himself." This logical home-thrust seems to have disconcerted the royal disputant, who only wagged his head, and spoke aside to the secretary. He then returned to the charge with the following question, "Are they not Bishops, and Fathers of the Kirk, and as ecclesiastical persons clothed with the Kirk's authority, have power to suspend and depose?" "Not in this court, sir," was Calderwood's firm reply.

At this daring disclaimer, an indignant murmur resounded through the conclave. The minister, anxious to be heard, raised his voice over the prevailing din, and repeated rapidly and in one breath the following explanation: "They have no power from the Kirk; for all the power they have granted to them by the act of Glasgow, which is all the power they have from the Kirk, is only that every bishop in several, associating to himself some of the ministers of the bounds where the delinquent is, may suspend or depose, and only in such and such cases: that is not, nor cannot be done in this court, therefore I misken your sentence." This declaration raised the storm to its height. The King argued, and at last declared, that he would suspend the recusant corporally if not spiritually; the members shouted, declaimed, and heaped abusive epithets upon the prisoner; and those who were nearest, shook, tugged, and elbowed him, while he was still upon his knees. In fact, the scene was more like that of an Algerine Divan, composed of Janizaries and Corsairs, brawling over a stranded carrack, than an ecclesiastical court, moderated by the light of the seventeenth century,—by Solomon the Second. At last, the King demanded of Calderwood whether he would abstain from preaching for a certain time, if he were commanded simply by the royal

authority? The minister, whose wits were still mazed, (and no wonder), by the smother of the crowd, and the kneading of fists and elbows, by which they had endeavoured to soften him into compliance, as well as the stunning uproar over-head, imagined that the King was requiring of him submission to the sentence of the bishops; and, therefore, he replied, "I am not minded to obey." The King surprised at this answer, repeated the question once and again, but Calderwood, still under his erroneous preconception, returned the same reply. This appearance of contumacy so incensed his Majesty, that sentence of deprivation was forthwith pronounced against the culprit, and he was remanded to close imprisonment in the Tolbooth of St Andrews, until his Majesty's further pleasure was known—the primate adding, that he ought to be hanged like Ogilvie the Jesuit, who had been executed for denying the royal supremacy in things pertaining to the Church.

When Calderwood was on his way to prison, he exhorted the ministers standing by not to be discouraged at the spectacle, but to prove faithful servants to their divine Master. A member of the High Commission who was present, began to upbraid him for having refused to obey the King, who had merely requested him to cease from preaching for a time—and it was then only that Calderwood understood the error into which he had unwittingly fallen, and the causes of the royal resentment. He was grieved that even the appearance of disloyalty should stain the honour of his ministry; and being eager to repair the error as quickly as possible, he wrote from prison a declaration and petition explanatory of the mistake, and offering full and free obedience to his Majesty's desire. The King, however, would not credit the explanation, and the Bishops took care to fortify his resentment. They even tampered with the prisoner, and offered to procure his liberty, if he would acknowledge the validity of their sentence; but this he stedfastly refused. In fact, it was this denial of their ecclesiastical supremacy, and not the mistake into which he had fallen, that formed the head and front of his offending, and occasioned all the penalties that followed.

Having thus silenced for a short time an unbending and most obnoxious presbyter, the King, notwithstanding the "salmon-like affection" which had brought him to his birth-place, was glad to escape from the storm which his coming had raised, into the still waters of the south. His parting with the obsequious bishops was sufficiently harsh and humiliating. Upon the strength of their representations he had come down to Scotland, but only to have his "right divine" brow-beaten and thwarted; and on them he angrily turned, and railed at them as "dolts" and "deceivers." Even when he had wended his way across the border, and reached England in safety, the image of the sturdy recusant minister of Crailing seemed to haunt him sorely; for, according to the authority of Spottiswood, when some of the English clergy came to welcome his Majesty, the latter gruffly replied, "I hope ye will not use me so unreverently as one Calderwood did in Scotland."

In the meantime, this object of royal resentment was transported from the Tolbooth of St Andrews, to that of Edinburgh, although his friends interposed to procure his freedom, by offering full security that he should leave the kingdom. The Archbishop of St Andrews, who was particularly interested in his close confinement, afterwards confessed, that it was the King's purpose to keep Calderwood in prison until a ship should be ready to convey him to London, from which port he was to be transferred to the worst of all places of banishment—the American plantations! Even before his Majesty had left Scotland, intercession was made anew in behalf of the unfortunate prisoner; and after much importunity on the part of several noblemen and members of the Council, James would only relax so far, as that Calderwood should consent to quit the British dominions within two months, and not return without the royal permission. On this condition, the minister was remanded to his parish of Crailing, but with strict injunctions not to preach during the specified interval. The faithful and pains-taking divine was grieved at the thought of being parted from his labours and his flock; and, in the hope of obtaining a mitigation of the sentence, he repaired to Carlisle, ac-

companied by his firm supporter, Lord Cranstoun, to present a supplication to the King, who had got thus far on his journey. Cranstoun tendered the minister's petition, to the effect that he might be allowed to remain in Scotland, on condition of confining himself within the bounds of his parish; but James, after railing at the petition, rebuffed the nobleman with a thrust of his elbow. The stout and good Lord Cranstoun renewed the application two hours after, in which he sought a protraction, at least, of the term of Calderwood's departure, both on account of the dangers of a winter voyage, and, also, that the minister might receive his year's stipend. To this limited demand the King answered in a rage, that it was no matter if Calderwood was reduced to beg; and that, as for the season of the year, if he chanced to be drowned he might thank God he had escaped a worse death. This application having proved so hopeless, the Bishops were again appealed to; but they refused to intercede in Calderwood's behalf, unless he submitted to the King in ecclesiastical as well as civil matters, and pledged himself to conformity with the Bishops. After all these appeals had been fruitless, and these insinuating offers rejected, Calderwood did not consider himself as bound to the strict letter of his iniquitous sentence; and, therefore, instead of departing amidst the storms of winter, he concealed himself in Scotland, having friends willing to shelter him both from legal and Episcopal vengeance.

We have already alluded to the wrath of James on account of the over-coloured representations of the Prelates, through which he had been induced to make his premature visit to Scotland. The Bishops in some measure soothed his resentment, by shewing him a sketch of those enactments, afterwards called the Articles of Perth, by which the worship of the Church of Scotland was to be assimilated more nearly to that of England. A General Assembly was necessary for this purpose, and an assembly was accordingly convened at Perth in August 25, 1618. The articles to be passed were five in number, viz.:—1. Kneeling at the Communion; 2. Observance of holidays; 3. Episcopal confirmation; 4. Private

baptism; 5. Private dispensation of the Lord's supper. As might have been expected from the nature of these innovations, matters were carried with a high hand. Spottiswood, without being elected Moderator, at once usurped the chair; and, in his opening speech, he adduced as his strongest argument for the passing of the Articles, that his Majesty would be more delighted with the consent of this Assembly than with all the gold of India. Especial care had also been taken in arranging the means by which the royal wish might be gratified. The Assembly was convoked so suddenly, that the ministers of four remote Dioceses, and several Presbyteries, were unavoidably prevented from attending; while, on the other hand, the Bishops, many noblemen and barons, and several ministers whose suffrages could be relied on, attended the meeting, and voted, although they had not been elected members. Browbeating and menace, as well as fraud and flattery, were also used in abundance. Before the roll was called the King's letter was once more read, to awe the dissentients; and when the votes were demanded, after an indecently hurried and brief discussion, the whole subject was massed into the following short question, "Will you consent to these articles, or disobey the King?" In calling the roll the usual order was changed; the names of such as were known to be friendly to the measure being called first, in the hope that their assent would allure others to follow. When the votes were taken also, of those who were hostile to the Articles, or suspected to be so, the admonition was menacingly dinned into their years, "Have the King in your mind! remember the King;" and many of the names of those members whose negative would have been certain were purposely omitted. Such unworthy manœuvres could scarcely fail to succeed, for the present at least, and the Articles were passed by a showy majority; but still, it is worthy of remark, that one nobleman, one doctor, and forty-five ministers had the hardihood to dissent, notwithstanding the general intimidation. But even though their numbers had been quadrupled, their opposition would have been equally fruitless; for the members of the Assembly were roundly apprised by the Primate,

that neither vote nor remonstrance would be regarded which opposed the pleasure of the King.

While these violent proceedings of the Perth Assembly were in progress Calderwood was still lurking in Scotland, and shifting from place to place according to the emergency. His chief concealment was in Cranstoun, where a secret chamber had been prepared for him by the kindness of Lady Cranstoun, and in which he could lurk unsuspected, notwithstanding the strict search by which he was surrounded. It may be easily imagined that the unrighteous measures of the Prelatic faction were viewed by him from the loopholes of his retreat, with mingled indignation and sorrow. But he did not confine himself merely to silent feeling, and although an utterance of any kind was sure to complicate his dangers, he wrote the well-known tract, entitled, "The Perth Assembly," in which he demonstrated the utter nullity of that meeting and all its proceedings. It was no easy matter to embody such a work in types, and bring it before the eyes of the Scottish public, and, therefore, it had to be printed in Holland, so anonymously withal, that it bore the name neither of author, printer, nor place of publication; and the copies were smuggled over into Scotland, in April 1619, with great risk and difficulty, and under a different aspect from that which a theological arrival commonly presents in the present day—in short, the pamphlets were packed up in *vats*, as if they had been a mercantile consignment of French wines or strong waters. Even then they had to encounter all the hazards that commonly belong to contraband wares. When they were landed at Burntisland, the minister of that parish being a Prelatist, would fain have searched these suspicious looking commodities, but was only prevented by the accredited functionary of such inquests—the Collector of the Customs. From Burntisland, these vats were brought over to Leith; and while they lay upon the landing-place among other packages containing French articles of traffic, the sharp-eyed Archbishop of Saint Andrews passed by and looked at them, but happily without suspicion. But the matter and style of "Perth Assembly" betrayed its

authorship, so that the King and bishops, in deep resentment, not only denounced the work as an atrocious and seditious libel, but prosecuted the search after Calderwood more keenly than ever. On this account the house of James Cathkin, a distinguished bookseller in Edinburgh, and a well-known adherent of the historian, was particularly suspected and carefully rummaged; but although there were five or six copies of the pamphlet lying upon the very bed which Calderwood at that time had been in the practice of using, the searchers did not perceive them. At length, in August 1619, he embarked at Newhaven for Holland, and reached that country in safety. As the generous-hearted ladies of the Scottish metropolis had shown an especial zeal for the advancement of religion, at every step of the Reformation and the establishment of Presbytery, they took care that the uncompromising champion of the Church which they loved so well should not depart into exile in a state of utter destitution. This was sneeringly alluded to by his enemy, Spottiswood, who also in turn became an exile from Scotland, but under very different popular auspices, and he talked of "that knave (Calderwood) who is now loupen over sea, with his purse well filled by the wives of Edinburgh."

We have already mentioned the name of the bookseller, Cathkin; and the trouble into which the worthy citizen was brought in consequence of his alleged complicity with Calderwood is worthy of notice in this brief memoir. He was groundlessly suspected of having printed the tract of the Perth Assembly; and, in consequence of this suspicion, he was apprehended in June (1619), at London, whither he had repaired in the course of his mercantile transactions. He was examined by no less a personage than the august sovereign himself, and the interview, which was a strange one, exhibited in a most ludicrous manner the grossness, buffoonery, childishness, and useless wisdom, that were so strangely jumbled and crushed into the original mind, such as it was, of James the Sixth of Scotland. "Where were ye born?" demanded the King, with the jerk and emphasis of a

thumbscrew. "In the city of Edinburgh," replied the trembling bibliopole. "What religion are ye of?" rejoined the King. "Of the religion your Majesty professes," said the bookseller. "The devil take you away both soul and body!" ejaculated the benevolent monarch, "for you are none of my religion; you are a recusant; you go not to Church." The royal polemic, having now waxed warm, proceeded to argue in favour of holidays; but finding that the Presbyterian bookseller would not be persuaded, he broke off with—"Ye are worse than Turks and Jews." Then turning to the courtiers who were standing by, he exclaimed in a towering passion, "I can never get order of these people of Edinburgh. I forgave them the seventeenth day: the devil rive their souls and bodies all in collops, and cast them in hell!" After this unkingly outburst, James proceeded to question the bookseller about the publishing of the "Perth Assembly;" but in this, the latter denied all participation. He was then asked whether Calderwood had resorted to his house, while lurking about Edinburgh; and the honest bookseller being pressed with this question, was obliged to confess, that Calderwood had occasionally slept at his house, and that he had spoken with him within these fifteen days. "We have found the taed!" cried the King exultingly, as if he had discovered a new gunpowder plot, and detected Guy Fawkes himself in the very act—"let us hold us here, forsooth! Mr David Calderwood is a good brother, and a good lear father." Cathkin was then charged with having declared the Assembly of Perth to be unlawful; and in allusion to the refusal of the Presbyterians to receive the communion kneeling, the King said of the bookseller, still on his knees, "See, thir people will kneel to me, and will not kneel to God." James then returned to his beloved dialectics, and endeavoured alternately to puzzle and browbeat his victim into conformity with the Articles; but Cathkin's Presbyterianism was of too sturdy a character to be thus overcome. He was remanded to prison for further examination; and it was shortly after this singular interview that his house in Edinburgh was searched, as has been already mentioned. After

a confinement of three weeks he was set at liberty, as he made it evident that he had taken no part in the printing or sale of "Perth Assembly."

After Calderwood had escaped to Holland, he suffered a severe attack of sickness, in consequence of which he ceased to be heard of in his own country, so that a report at length prevailed that he was dead. There was one man base enough to avail himself of the rumour by attempting to erect a court fortune upon the reputation of the historian. This was John Scott, a gentleman belonging to the neighbourhood of Falkland, who, after having wasted his patrimony, had betaken himself to the miserable shifts of cozenage for a livelihood. Hoping to obtain royal favour and patronage, by an unworthy trick which at that time was but too common, he composed a tract in Calderwood's name, purporting to be his death-bed sentiments on the subject of Church government, and published it in London in 1623, under the following unwieldy title: "Calderwood's Recantation: or a Tripartite Discourse directed to such of the ministerie and others in Scotland that refuse conformitie to the ordinances of the Church: wherein the causes and bad effects of such separation, the legal proceedings against the refractorie, and nullitie of their cause, are softly launced, and they lovinglie invited to the uniformitie of the Church." In this impudent forgery Calderwood was made to abandon his Presbyterian predilections with a rapidity truly startling; to condemn the writings of Knox, Beza, and others of the reformers; to demonstrate the divine origin of Episcopacy; to laud the wisdom, goodness, and clemency of King James, and to recommend unlimited unconditional submission to the royal will. The work itself, which is written in a turgid, pedantic style, could scarcely, as we imagine, have imposed upon any one of ordinary reflection; and yet Calderwood feared that, had he actually died, it might have gone forth and been received as a genuine production. Scott afterwards declared that he had been aided in its composition by the King himself, and the work, indeed, abounds with illustrations and allusions that seem strongly to

resemble the royal sign-manual. The following passage, in which an event is introduced that haunted the timid and suspicious mind of James like a long-confirmed night-mare, affords, independently of the style, some good grounds for the suspicion:—

"To descend and come to our owne times, mine owne eyes did behold that bold headlesse insurrectioun, knowne by the seventeenth of September: but praised be God, that fire was soon quenched, and that fruit rotten before it was ripe, although some of the prime nobility were invited, or rather conjured (if it had beene possible), to take armes in defence of your lame cause. But let that blacke prodigious day be involved in darke hieraglyphicks, and buried in perpetuall silence, lest future ages heare of it, or Erostratus complayne that he is robbed of his fame for burning Diana's temple."

Whether was David Calderwood or James the Sixth of Scotland most likely to have written thus? But whatever might be the complication of authorship employed in this hopeful production, Calderwood was soon found to be alive and in full vigour, and the publication of his great controversial work, the "Altare Damascenum," showed that he was as Presbyterian and Antiprelatic as ever. This work descended like an explosive shell into the very heart of the enemy's camp. Although it was published under the name of Didoclavius, yet these anagrams were so common in the seventeenth century, that every one could transpose the letters and read the name of the writer. King James, at a period when theological questions occupied the same place among Sovereigns which is now filled up by the science of Political Economy, read the work, was sorely puzzled with the arguments, and, in consequence, looked grim and dissatisfied. An English Prelate who stood by, and observed the effects of the perusal, told his Majesty to be under no trouble about the matter, for the Bishops would answer it. "What the —— will you answer, man?" cried the King,—for he did not stickle about swearing—"there is nothing here than Scripture, reason, and fathers." It is worthy of remark, that notwithstanding the boast of the English bishop,

that the work should be refuted, and although the "Altare Damascenum" was the great storehouse from which Prelatic arguments were subverted, and conversions to Presbyterianism effected, during the period of the Second Scottish Reformation, yet no bishop wedded to his church—no scholiast panoplied in the niceties of Greek and Hebrew—no learned divine, at a period when patristic learning was at its height, and when the fathers were familiarly appealed to by men duly conversant with their writings, in every ecclesiastical controversy—none, none of them ventured to enter the lists against this indomitable Presbyter, who was now lurking in Holland, shifting from place to place, and dependent upon the benevolence of strangers. In the quaint language of one of his admirers, the work "hath not been answered to this day, nor belike will afterward." It will only be from a correct translation of the Altare Damascenum that the public can derive a full idea of the eloquence, learning, and acute dialectic power of the author of the "Historie of the Kirk of Scotland."

If the recovery of the worthy historian, and the publication of this great controversial work, were gall and wormwood to the Scottish Soloman, they were absolute destruction to the Scottish spendthrift, who saw in this startling resuscitation the downfall of his own hopes. Enraged at this, and perhaps hoping that it was not yet too late, he resolved to extricate himself by making Calderwood die in good earnest. With this truculent purpose he repaired to Holland, and searched for the exile; but although he visited the Hague, Delft, and Amsterdam successively, and endeavoured to learn Calderwood's residence, by pretending that he brought for him a large sum of money, contributed by his friends in Scotland, he never crossed the path of his victim. The end of this man was in conformity with his character. After hanging upon the outskirts of the court, and swindling certain suitors who repaired thither, by boasting of his influence, and undertaking to further their petitions; and after renewing his baffled career of authorship, in a pamphlet full of lies, under the title of *Vox Vera*—

he sank into utter indigence, and died so poor that the Bishop of Ross had to defray the expenses of his funeral.

Such are the few particulars known of Calderwood up to this period of his life, and which are almost wholly gathered from his "Historie of the Kirk of Scotland." He lived many years after; but all that can be learnt of him is chiefly derived from a few incidental notices in the voluminous Letters of Baillie, in which he appears by fits and starts, and only for a moment. During his stay in Holland, his indefatigable spirit could not be satisfied with the production of the *Altare Damascenum*, although that of itself was an effort which might have gratified a whole lifetime of literary meditation, and therefore he appears to have published several other works in the place of his exile. It is also ascertained, that he either visited, or was an occasional residenter in Leyden, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, and Campvere. From Holland, he returned to Scotland, probably in 1625, as soon as he could revisit his native land in safety, his old persecutor, King James, having died in the earlier part of the same year.

It might have been thought, that immediately on his arrival the historian would have been gladly welcomed into some vacant clerical charge. He had been a confessor, and all but a martyr for the suffering church of his native land, and evil days were still brooding over it, in which the best and bravest were summoned to the rescue. But somehow it happened that he received no call. Rumours have been propagated, by which it would appear that persecution and exile had not produced the happiest effect upon his temper. His firmness in the cause of truth had, perhaps, allied itself to obstinacy, and his success as a polemic may have fostered a forbidding opinionativeness that kept friends as well as enemies aloof. It must be recollected, however, that all this mainly rests upon the testimony of Baillie, whose character, we have reason to suspect, was as timid and yielding as that of Calderwood was fearless and uncompromising. But whatever might be the ideas of his brethren concerning his temper and popular accep-

tance, we know that they held him in high estimation, on account of his writings and sufferings.

From 1625, the probable year of his return, to that of 1640, there occurs a complete gap in the life of the historian. Who, whoever, can imagine that he was idle, who reads a list of his productions? But in the last-mentioned year we catch a glimpse of him on the following occasion :—In consequence of the violent persecution of the Protestants in Ireland many of the Presbyterian inhabitants of that country fled to Scotland. Here, they were accustomed to form themselves into prayer meetings, at which laymen prayed, expounded Scripture, and, as would appear, assisted the regular clergy, after the fashion of the gifted laity in England and other countries. But in consequence of certain sentences and expressions which they had used in prayer, their leader was delated to the Presbytery by Mr Henry Guthrie, minister of Stirling, in whose parish these meetings were held, and who was not likely to view such doings with forbearance, as he afterwards became a bishop. After a Presbyterial trial, the frequenters of these meetings were condemned for encroaching on the offices, and despising the persons of the ordained ministry ; and, in consequence of this verdict, the magistrates of Stirling were induced to expel the offenders from the town. The sufferers on this occasion were sympathised with by several ministers in the Church eminent for judgment and piety, among whom were David Dickson and Samuel Rutherford, while, on the other hand, they were as keenly opposed by Alexander Henderson and David Calderwood. We can easily understand the feeling of the illustrious leader of the Second Scottish Reformation. He lived in an age of sectarianism, and beheld Protestant England on the eve of being rent asunder ; and without uniformity in worship as well as faith the establishment of the Church of Scotland was helpless. As for Calderwood, we are informed that he had witnessed the wild excesses of the Brownists, or Independents, in Arnheim and Amsterdam, and therefore he might reasonably fear that the same practices were about to be introduced into Scotland. He accord-

ingly opposed this system of innovation, and opposed it with a zeal which was thought to betray more temper than judgment. At length, after a very stormy discussion, the matter was settled by an act "anent the ordering of family worship," which comprised the following regulations: I. That family worship be performed by those of one family only, and not of different families. II. That reading prayer is lawful, where none of the family can express themselves with proper knowledge *extempore*. III. That none be permitted to explain Scripture but ministers and expectants approved by the Presbytery. IV. That no innovation as to time, matter, or manner of religious exercises, or as to the number and quality of the persons joining, be permitted, till the reasons of changing be first proponed to, and allowed in a General Assembly.

When the General Assembly of 1641 had met, Calderwood, although not a member, was allowed to sit in it by special favour. Unfortunately, however, it would appear that his first public appearance in this meeting was an ebullition of resentment. Mr Andrew Fairfoul, one of the ministers of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, had been appointed moderator, but with the understanding, that he should demit the charge in favour of Alexander Henderson, should the latter return in time from his mission to England. This peculiarly trying period, in which a crisis was rapidly approaching both in Church and State, required a moderator of no ordinary mark, and Henderson's abilities for the office had been so thoroughly tested, that the Church placed in him the highest confidence. He returned in time, and Fairfoul vacated the chair. A promise, however, was made, that this transference of office, justified only by peculiar circumstances, should not be established into a precedent in any time coming. It was this re-election of Henderson which Calderwood opposed, and with such warmth, that at last the Lord Commissioner had to command him to be silent. But Henderson was of too generous a spirit to resent this attack, which, at the worst, was an error on the side of long established order; and during the sittings of the

Assembly, he expressed his regret, that one who deserved so well of the Church had been so long neglected. The following short sketch of Calderwood at this time, as it exists in Baillie's Letters, is probably a correct likeness, although evidently drawn with no very favourable pencil: "He was recommended to the first commodious room. Likely he shall not be in haste provided. The man is sixty-six years old: his utterance is unpleasant; his carriage about the meetings of this Assembly, and before, has made him less considerable to divers of his former benefactors." The likelihood here expressed, that he would not be soon provided for was disappointed, for Calderwood was nominated to the charge of the parish of Pencaitland. In speaking of this appointment, Stevenson says, "This last incident (the transportation of the previous minister) made way for the admission of Mr David Calderwood to the kirk of Pencaitland. As that reverend divine had been famed for his Altare Damascenum, and other writings, and had suffered much for his steady opposition to the corruptions introduced in the end of King James's reign, it might have been expected that more populous places would have been contending for him; but it is said his utterance was unpleasant and his age great, so that it was not without the moderator's influence that he obtained even that landwart place."

As might have been anticipated, Calderwood's acquaintanceship with Church matters, and aptitude for business, were soon in requisition; and as a schism was threatened in the Church, a reference to earliest principles and forms was necessary, in which he was best qualified to speak as an authority. In consequence of the prevalence of Episcopacy in Scotland for more than forty years, certain innovations, unknown in former periods, had gradually stolen in and established themselves in public worship. These chiefly consisted in the minister concluding his last public prayer with the doxology, praise with the Gloria Patri; and the practice of kneeling in the pulpit. These were condemned by many as Episcopal, and, in their eagerness to protest against them, there was too evident a tendency to hurry into the wild-

ness and formlessness of the English sectaries. At the Assembly of 1643, therefore, Calderwood was joined with Henderson, and David Dickson in preparing a new directory for public worship, which was done so judiciously, that the rival discontent was allayed, and harmony restored in the Church.

After this period we lose sight of the historian for six years, during which period we may imagine him engaged in the ministerial duties of his small country charge, and finishing the last *cura* of his great historical work. In the year 1649 he appears for the last time upon the public stage, and in his own characteristic fashion. That year an act was introduced into the Assembly, entitled, a "Directory for the Election of Ministers," and the purpose of which was to settle the vexatious question respecting the exercise of patronage in the Church. By this act, the kirk-session elected by the congregation, and, therefore, assumed to represent its wishes, was to have the power of choosing their minister, subject, however, to the approval of the congregation. If this was obtained, the Presbytery was to proceed to the trial and ordination of the minister elect; but if a majority of the congregation dissented, the Presbytery was authorised to judge the grounds of their refusal, and unless these were frivolous or unfounded, to proceed to a new election. Against this act Calderwood entered a sharp protest, and proposed as a counter-motion, that the right of electing should be vested, not in the kirk-session but the Presbytery, while the people should have nothing more than the power of dissenting, and submitting their dissent to the decision of the Presbyterial court. As the Act of Settlement was nevertheless passed by an overwhelming majority, Calderwood required and obtained that his protest should be entered upon the record. This was the commencement of a practice which, since that time, has been often repeated, of entering a protest against the decisions of the Assembly, and requiring it to be registered.

The labours of this indefatigable man were now drawing to a close, and he was soon summoned to enter into his rest. His death, of which no particulars have been recorded, occurred at

Jedburgh on the 29th of October 1650, when he had attained his seventy-fifth year. This was a long extended life, if we take into account the labours and vicissitudes of his eventful career, as well as the fact, that old age was neither so hale, nor longevity so common at the middle of the seventeenth century, as they are in the present day.

With regard to the numerous writings of Calderwood, in giving a list of them, it will perhaps be proper to give a short account of that by which he is best known,—the History of the Kirk of Scotland.

An evidence of the anxiety with which the author had laid this task to heart, and the years of untiring labour he must have bestowed upon it, are to be found in the fact, that the copious materials which he had amassed for the purpose, were digested not merely into one, but three successive Histories. Of these, an account has been given in the short preface of the first volume of this work, and to which we refer our readers. It is only necessary to add to the statements contained there, that the materials, of which the first and largest version was composed, were chiefly taken from Knox's History of the Reformation, Bannatyne's Memorials, Davidson's Scottish Martyrology, (a work never published, and perhaps no longer extant), and Melville's Diary and Autobiography. While these formed the ground-work of his narrative, he also availed himself of the records of the General Assembly, the State Papers written during the reigns of Mary Stuart and James VI., and the numerous pamphlets and broad-sheets on ecclesiastical matters, which constituted so large a portion of the literature of the day. In this manner he has preserved a valuable mass of historical documents illustrative of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which would not otherwise have come down to us. Having thus, in the first instance, collected his materials, and arranged them according to their sequence in the order of time, until they filled six large volumes of closely written manuscript, it had occurred to his pains-taking, methodical mind, that a more luminous arrangement, as well as a more condensed

style, were necessary to ensure the acceptance of the work with posterity. Again, therefore, the indefatigable pen was set in motion. Calderwood resumed his toil from the commencement, arranging, curtailing, condensing, improving—and the result was that second version of his History which is now before our readers. As an instance of his carefulness of arrangement in this improved revise, and his wish to make the narrative more clear and intelligible, we may mention, among other instances, that in his account of the proceedings of the General Assemblies, which constitutes so large a portion of the work, he has given not the mere proceedings of each sitting, as in the first *cura*, but the history of the progress of every single measure to its termination, so that each appears in unbroken order, without being mixed up with other matters of the sitting in which it happened to be introduced. The language, too, in which he originally copied almost *verbatim* the words of Knox, Bannatyne, and Melville, was made more exclusively his own in the present history, by which not only redundancies were avoided, but a more unique and consistent character imparted to the general style. It is also to be observed, that while he was anxious, in this his second history, to leave out nothing of "the substance" that had been contained in the first, he has introduced several important documents not to be found in the other.

It must have been some consolation to the declining days of the venerable author, after the rebuffs he had encountered in Church courts, to find that his historical labours were duly appreciated by his brethren. The fact was generally known, that for many years he had been employed upon this important task; and in 1648, the General Assembly desired him to persevere, and complete the work, and voted him a yearly pension of eight hundred pounds Scots by way of encouragement. But as this was only two years before his death, we may conclude that the several versions of his history had already been brought to such a state that little remained for him to accomplish.

A list of the other works of Calderwood is not only numerous,

but also difficult, in consequence of the circumstances under which they were published, most of them being levelled against some prevalent abuse, and therefore exposing their author to prosecution, so that they were ushered into the world without his name.

The following list, however, extracted from the Appendix to the Life of Henderson in the miscellaneous writings of Dr M'Cric, and drawn up by his talented son, we believe to be the most authentic :—

1. Perth Assembly. A. D. 1619.

2. Parasynagma Perthense.—1620. This work, written in Latin, chiefly consists of an abridgment of the foregoing work, with several curious additions.

3. The Course of Conformitie.—1622. This is an historical review of the means adopted to settle Episcopacy in Scotland, from 1597 to the above-mentioned date.

4. Defence of our Arguments against Kneeling in the act of receiving the Sacramental Elements of bread and wine, impugned by Mr Michelsone.—1620.

5. The Solution of Dr Resolutus his Resolutions.

6. The Altar of Damascus.—1621. This small volume, written in English, contains merely the leading principles which Calderwood so fully and ably expounded afterwards in his well-known Latin work.

7. Altare Damascenum ; seu Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Politia.—1623.

8. An Exhortation of the Particular Kirks of Christ in Scotland to their Sister Kirk in Edinburgh.—1624.

9. The Pastor and the Prelate.—1628.

10. A dialogue betwixt Cosmophilus and Theophilus anent the urging of new ceremonies upon the Kirke of Scotland.—1620.

11. The Speech of the Kirk of Scotland to her beloved children.—1620.

12. A REPLY TO DR MORTON'S GENERAL DEFENCE OF THREE NOCENT CEREMONIES.—1623.

13. A REPLY TO DR MORTON'S PARTICULAR DEFENCE OF THREE NOCENT CEREMONIES.—1623.

14. AN EPISTLE OF A CHRISTIAN BROTHER, &c.—1624.

15. A DISPUTE UPON COMMUNICATING AT OUR CONFUSED COMMUNIONS.—1624.

16. A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE FIVE ARTICLES ENACTED AT PERTH.—1636.

17. THE RE-EXAMINATION ABRIDGED, &c.—1636.

18. AN ANSWER TO MR J. FORBES OF CORSE HIS PEACEABLE WARNING.—1638.

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